

A HISTORY OF ISRAEL

By W. O. E. OESTERLEY
and THEODORE H. ROBINSON

VOL. I
From the EXODUS to the FALL OF
JERUSALEM, 586 B.C.
By THEODORE H. ROBINSON

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A HISTORY OF ISRAEL

VOL. II

From the Fall of Jerusalem, 586 B.C.
to the Bar-Kokhba Revolt, A.D. 135

BY

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GENERAL PREFACE

AT its winter meeting in December 1928 the Society for Old Testament Study discussed, among other matters, the supply of works on the History of Israel. It was felt that there was need of a substantial book on the subject in English. During the discussion Dr. Robinson stated that he had been planning such a book and collecting material for many years, but had been deterred from completing the work mainly by two facts. One was his inability to secure an adequate period of continuous leisure, since such a work required practically uninterrupted attention during the actual writing; the other was that his special studies had been limited to the pre-exilic period. It transpired almost at once that Dr. Oesterley had been working for many years on similar lines, dealing with the history of Israel after the Exile. The two were encouraged by the Society to proceed in co-operation and to produce the whole as soon as was reasonably possible.

We have divided the period covered into two distinct parts, and each of us is solely responsible for the volume which bears his name. At the same time we have worked with a single purpose, in close co-operation, consulting and criticizing one another, and we hope that, in spite of the divided authorship, we have succeeded in producing a single work which shall meet one of the present chief needs of Old Testament studies in the English-speaking world.

March 1932

W. O. E. O.
T. H. R.

PREFACE

IN dealing with the history of Israel from the epoch which begins with the Babylonian exile a brief consideration of the events which led up to this great historical landmark is indispensable. It is recognized that this involves some repetition of what has been said in the previous volume; but this is unavoidable, for the events immediately preceding the Exile are inseparable from the Exile itself. The slight overlapping involved will, therefore, we feel sure, be pardoned.

The history of Israel as now to be considered is no longer the record of the fortunes of a political entity; it concerns the development of certain moral and spiritual concepts embodied in a group which had a strong national self-consciousness. This consciousness is based on the older independence, and we have now in Israel a phenomenon to which History supplies no complete parallel. Political subordination was long accepted, and so long as this did not threaten the ideas for which Israel stood she bowed in resigned acquiescence to the inevitable. Under the Persian and Graeco-Egyptian governments the people were, in the main, content with their position, though there is reason to believe that before the end of the third century B.C. two distinct points of view had begun to show themselves. With the attempt of Antiochus IV to eradicate the genuine Jewish religion and forcibly to impose upon the orthodox Jews the Hellenism of the rest of his empire the national feeling reasserted itself, and for the first time we have a conflict which soon developed into a struggle for national independence. The essentially ideal basis of this passion for self-determination is attested by the readiness with which the orthodox party later acquiesced in a foreign domination so long as their religious susceptibilities were not violated. It is the primary intention of the following pages to elucidate and illustrate this.

On one section of the work here presented a word of comment seems desirable. The latter half of the fifth century B.C. is among the most difficult and complicated periods in the history of Israel. The data are scanty, often obscure, and at times evidently contradictory; sometimes we are led to suspect deliberate modification in the text of our documents in the interests of theological or ecclesiastical theory. In the circumstances it is not surprising that the opinions of scholars differ, sometimes

widely; no two have succeeded in presenting quite the same reconstruction of the actual events. It may well be that many readers will be dissatisfied with the solution of the problem which I have offered. I am not blind either to its weak points or to objections which may be raised against it, or to the strength of other positions; but long and careful consideration has convinced me that the balance of probability lies on the side of the view I have set forth, and I feel that I have no alternative to its adoption.

Again, it is inevitable that among writers on history there should be differences of opinion as to the relative importance of the data supplied by the ancient records. While this applies more particularly to the Maccabaeae and Roman ages, it is in a measure true of the whole period under review. The perspective which I have been compelled to adopt has led me to omit details which others might perhaps have included, and to stress points which some would hold to be relatively unimportant.

I take this opportunity of acknowledging my sincere thanks for the encouragement and help I have received from some well-known scholars: how much I owe to Dr. Edwyn Bevan it would be difficult to say; his works have, of course, been invaluable for some of the periods dealt with; but in addition, both by correspondence and in conversation he has been a constant source of inspiration. To Dr. Wheeler Robinson, who read through the whole of my manuscript, and offered many criticisms as pointed as they were helpful, I express my warm gratitude; I owe him more than I can say. Further, I am indebted to Canon D. C. Simpson and to Mr. G. R. Driver for help and suggestions in various ways. I have also to express my sincere thanks to the Readers of the Oxford Press; their advice in various directions, which I always found it wise to follow, has been of great value to me. Finally, it affords me particular pleasure to place on record my sense of appreciation for the unfailing kindness, patience, and consideration shown by my publishers. I have also to express my thanks to Miss Hippius, L.Th., for going through my manuscript in its final form, as well as to the Rev. F. J. Hollis, D.D., for reading the proofs and verifying all the Biblical quotations.

W. O. E. O.

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BOOK I
THE PERIOD OF THE EXILE

Chapter I

INTRODUCTORY

THE history to be dealt with in this volume covers about seven centuries, and divides itself naturally into the Babylonian, Persian, Greek, and Roman periods. In the brief reviews to be given of the historical background of the nations under whose suzerainty the Jews lived, it is necessary to take a glance at the period immediately preceding the rise of the Neo-Babylonian empire and to touch upon the conditions in the empire of Assyria during the days of its decline and fall, as well as to describe in outline Jewish affairs during these years; this is done in order to make the connexion clear between the close of one period and the beginning of another. This involves some slight repetition of what has been said in the previous volume, but it is unavoidable if we are to understand how the Neo-Babylonian empire rose to eminence.

The history of no people is properly comprehensible without considering the nature of its environment; and in regard to no nation is this truer than in the case of the Jewish. The Jews of these periods, taking the people as a whole, show themselves possessed of some qualities which appear to stand in irreconcilable contrast; on the one hand, taken at their best, they exhibit a spiritual depth and a moral vitality which, in spite of set-backs, are characteristic; on the other hand, there is the tendency to submit to extraneous influences, absorbing and adapting much, yet rejecting what was likely to be detrimental to their ethical and religious standards. Clearly this makes indispensable some knowledge of the historical background and of the thought and culture of those nations with whom the Jews were brought in contact. But since we are dealing with the history of the Jews the historical background of the periods to be considered will be touched upon as briefly as possible, while the religion and culture of these surrounding nations can be referred to but incidentally in what professes to be only an historical treatise. Nevertheless, where the Jews are concerned the question of religion has always been paramount, and even when dealing with history pure and simple this has to be taken into account. It may at certain times not be apparent on the surface, but it will always be found that in some way or another political occurrences are more or less conditioned by the religious

question. As long as the Jews were left unmolested in the full exercise of their religion and of their religious customs they were content and ready to acquiesce in their position of vassal-state; they had learned, and the lesson was not forgotten,¹ the futility of attempting to assert their independence. But as soon as it became a question of defending the faith of their fathers the spirit of the people always rose in opposition to fever heat, as when, for example, Judas Maccabaeus was able, in spite of all difficulties, to retain the religious freedom which had been threatened. Later, under Roman suzerainty, it was largely religious motives, viz. Messianic ideals, however mistaken, which nourished antagonism and which finally led the people to open revolt against the Roman power. Had the counsels of the more moderate elements in the nation prevailed the course of events might have been different. In any case, it was primarily, though now no more entirely, a religious issue which sustained the movement in opposition to Rome.

Each of the periods mentioned left its mark on the Jews in differing and distinctive ways, yet it was in the religious sphere that this was most striking. But the extraordinary thing is that, while the influence here exercised was in some respects menacing, its effects were rarely enduring. Just as in the earlier history of the people there had been periods during which extraneous influences had been brought to bear—ancient Babylonian, Canaanite, Assyrian—some passing, others more deep-seated in their effect, so it was in the centuries after the Exile. During the Exile itself Babylonian religion affected some sections of the Jews, but was resisted by most. Persian religion, however, profoundly influenced Jewish belief in some directions. During the Greek period the fascination of Hellenic culture for great numbers created an irreconcilable breach within the nation, though ultimately orthodox Judaism gained the day.

Under the Roman rule, on the other hand, no extraneous influence made itself felt in the religious sphere. By this time Pharisaism was sufficiently rooted to be able to defy anything of the kind; even before the actual fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 the school of Jamnia had been founded by Johanan ben Zakkai, the great reorganizer of Judaism after the catastrophe.

To present a history of the Jews during these centuries is

¹ With the exception of the revolt during the reign of Artaxerxes III Ochus which resulted in the deportation of many.

not easy; the general outlines are clear enough, but in attempting to fill in the picture one soon begins to realize how formidable the difficulties are. During the exilic period some data regarding the Jews both in Babylonia and in Palestine are to be gathered from the Old Testament; we have here in part direct evidence, and in part information to be derived from inference. The records of the external history during this period are but few, though they throw sidelights here and there. For the Persian period, so far as the Persians are concerned, there is much more material, as we have the histories of Diodorus Siculus, Herodotus, Strabo, and Xenophon (*Cyropaedia*), and some inscriptions. But as to the Jews, apart from the early years after the return, there is again a great dearth; some light is shed by the books of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, but, as is well known, the historical sequence of events is difficult to disentangle, and the records themselves are not always reliable; some help, though only on a small scale, is gained from the Elephantiné papyri. During the last seventy years of this period we are much in the dark. The differences of opinion among scholars as to what portions of the Old Testament may be assigned to these years makes their use uncertain.

For the history of the Jews during the first century and a half of the Greek period the materials are again scanty; there is the same difficulty as to what portions of the Old Testament can be utilized; and, even from those parts which may with some certainty be assigned to the third century B.C., very little knowledge of history is to be gained. On the other hand, Josephus now begins to be valuable. For the latter part of the Greek period, i.e. the Maccabaeon age, there is, of course, abundant material in the two books of the *Maccabees*, and incidental data from other sources.

For the Roman period Josephus is our main source, and he gives plenty of information; but his prejudices and idiosyncracies make it sometimes necessary to use his evidence with caution.

Upon the whole, then, until we come to the Roman period, it is the want of data which makes it difficult to give a clear account of Jewish history during these centuries. And this difficulty is increased when we attempt to give a picture of the people themselves; there is very little to go upon, so that we are forced to rely largely on inference.

In studying the world's history during these seven centuries, what strikes one as perhaps the most remarkable fact is that of the rise, the fall, and the disappearance of six great world empires—Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, Greece, Syria, Egypt—while the Jews survived; not, it is true, as a nation, but nevertheless as a distinct racial unity; living through the vicissitudes of exile, subjection, persecution, independence, and then again subjection and persecution, they appear at the end of it all, crushed and scattered indeed, but yet, as a race, as virile and indestructible as ever.

Chapter II

THE EXTERNAL HISTORY: THE FALL OF NINEVEH. THE NEO-BABYLONIAN EMPIRE

SUMMARY

[The internal unrest in the Assyrian empire which became especially marked during the later years of the reign of Ashur-bani-pal heralded the near approach of the downfall of the empire. The final crash came in 612 B.C. with the fall of Nineveh; this was brought about by the combined attack of the Babylonians and Medes, the latter of whom took the leading part. The Assyrians continued a forlorn and hopeless struggle with the not very reliable help of Egypt; but with Nebuchadrezzar's victory at Carchemish in 605 B.C. the Assyrian empire disappeared from history, and Egypt was subdued. With Nebuchadrezzar's advent to the throne on the death of his father Nabopolassar in 604 B.C., the Babylonian empire found itself supreme. The attempt of Amasis, the Egyptian king, to assert himself in 568-567 B.C., proved fruitless; but Nebuchadrezzar made no attempt to subjugate Egypt. The remaining years of Nebuchadrezzar's reign were peaceful, so far as is known; he died in 562 B.C. But already during his reign signs began to manifest themselves showing that all was not well with this Neo-Babylonian empire, though it was not until after his death that events menacing the stability of the state occurred. Our records are scanty, but enough is told of the reigns of those who succeeded him to show that there was much unrest in the land. Nevertheless, when Nabonidus came to the throne in 554 B.C., the empire was outwardly intact. His interests and tastes were not concerned with statecraft and politics, but with archaeology. He left state affairs to his son, Bel-shar-uzur (Belshazzar) while he himself retired to Tema' in Arabia Felix.

Nabonidus had been on the throne only a few years when Cyrus, king of Anshan, a vassal kingdom of the Median empire, revolted against his suzerain and founded the Medo-Persian empire. This was a menace not only to the Babylonian power, but also to the Egyptian and Lydian kingdoms. A triple alliance was, therefore, formed by these three to check the growing power of Cyrus. But they were one after another subdued by Cyrus. Babylon itself fell in 538 B.C., and the Neo-Babylonian empire came to an end after a duration of less than a century.]

TOWARDS the end of the reign of Ashur-bani-pal troubles arose not only in different parts of the empire, which was nothing new, but also in connexion with the succession to the

throne. The aged king, broken in body and bowed down with mental worry, pours out his troubles thus:

Why am I entangled in sickness, anxiety, trouble and misfortune?
 Strife in the land, dissension in my family, cease not.
 Unrest and evil scandal oppress me continually;
 Mental anxiety and bodily sickness bow me down;
 My days are passed in woe and misery.
 On the day of the city-god, the day of festival, I am downcast;
 The god has cast me out in deep sorrow,
 In my distress and lamentation I clamour day and night.¹

Ashur-bani-pal died in 626 B.C., and in the following year Nabopolassar, a Chaldaean prince and ruler of the vassal state of Babylonia, asserted his independence; Media in the north-east, and Phoenicia and Palestine in the west, also broke away from the suzerain power. Two sons of Ashur-bani-pal reigned in turn; under the second a long drawn-out struggle ensued; Assyria was supported by Egypt² and the Scythians, while Nabopolassar allied himself with Kyaxares, king of the Medes;³ the Scythians, however, soon after proved false to Assyria, and joined forces with Nabopolassar and the Medes. One inscription, recently published,⁴ records under the year 616 B.C. two victories of Nabopolassar over the Assyro-Egyptian armies; thereafter he appears before the gates of the city of Ashur, but this time he is driven off. Then, however, the Medes come to the fore and conquer the eastern provinces of Assyria; this was in 615 B.C. In 614 B.C. the combined Babylonian and Median armies encircled Nineveh; they were repulsed, but they captured the city of Ashur. Finally, in 612 B.C., after a siege of some months, during which several unsuccessful attacks were made, Nineveh was captured. The Medes appear to have taken the

¹ Lehmann, *Samassumukin*, Zweiter Teil, pp. 21 ff. (1892); Jastrow, *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, ii. 107 (1912); see also the *Cambridge Ancient History*, iii. 127 (1925). The quotation given above is from Jastrow's German translation of the original.

² What Egypt's motive was in coming to the help of her hereditary foe can only be conjectured. It may have been that, realizing Assyria's moribund state, she wished to be on the spot in order to seize, at the opportune moment, Syria and Palestine. Another possibility, however, is that Egypt feared the rising power of Chaldaea, and hoped by assisting Assyria to create a counterbalancing power.

³ In an inscription of Nabonidus it is said that the gods gave Nabopolassar the Medes (*Umman-Manda*) as his allies (Langdon, *Die Neubabylonischen Königsinschriften*, Nab. No. 8 [1912]).

⁴ See C. J. Gadd, *The Fall of Nineveh: the newly discovered Babylonian Chronicle*, No. 21.901, in the British Museum (1923).

leading part in the operation. According to the Babylonian Chronicle, the city was 'turned into a mound and a ruin'.¹

But in spite of this very signal defeat and the loss of their capital the Assyrians struggled on. After a successful sortie, what was left of their army retired on the city of Harran, about a hundred miles to the west of Nineveh; their leader, in all probability Ashur-ubalit, assumed the crown of Assyria. As Gadd says, 'this transplanting of the Assyrian kingdom to the west, after the destruction of Nineveh, is certainly the most surprising information we derive from the Chronicle'. It was an important matter for the Assyrians that in Harran they were able to effect a junction with the Egyptian armies.

After the fall of Nineveh the Median army, under the leadership of Kyaxares, returned to their own land and left Nabopolassar to continue the war single-handed, since no mention is made of the Scythians; no reason is given as to why the Medes retired; we must suppose that either, for some cause or other, an estrangement had arisen between Kyaxares and Nabopolassar, or else that the former had pressing affairs in his own kingdom to attend to.

In the following year, 611 B.C., Nabopolassar had some minor successes; but he refrained from attacking the new Assyrian capital, evidently doubting his ability to capture it single-handed. Late in the year 610 B.C., however, the Scythians reappeared, and joined Nabopolassar with the intention of proceeding against Harran; and, moreover, it would seem, though this is not mentioned in the Chronicle, that the Medes also came to take part in this undertaking, for there is extant a private letter written by Nebuchadrezzar, belonging to this time, in which he says that the king (Nabopolassar) had gone against Harran with a large force of Medes.² No sooner, however, had the Assyrian king become cognizant of what was toward than he evacuated Harran and fled, presumably farther westwards, in order to get into closer touch with his Egyptian allies. The undefended city was sacked, and then occupied not by the Babylonians or Medes, but by the Scythians.

In the summer of the next year, 609 B.C., the Assyrians, now

¹ 'With a supreme, if unconscious, irony her own end is described in the very phrase with which her kings had so often vaunted their former conquests' (Gadd, *op. cit.*, p. 19). The book of *Nahum* contains an oracle against Nineveh (ii, iii).

² This letter is translated by F. Thureau-Dangin in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, xxi. 198. The writer is indebted to Mr. Gadd for drawing his attention to this.

joined by the Egyptian army,¹ crossed the Euphrates with the object of recapturing Harran; but in this they were unsuccessful. They returned to Syria; and for the next four years the armies of Egypt and Assyria occupied Carchemish on the Euphrates; why there was this long cessation of hostilities is not known. Finally, in 605 B.C., the Babylonian army, now under the command of Nebuchadnezzar, for Nabopolassar was growing old, advanced to the attack. What in the meantime the Assyrians were doing is unknown, nothing is said about them; but the Egyptians, now under Pharaoh-Necho, seem to have been alone in meeting Nebuchadnezzar at Carchemish. The latter gained an overwhelming victory; the Egyptian army fled headlong back into their own country pursued by the Babylonians. At Pelusium Nebuchadnezzar received news of his father's death which necessitated a speedy return to Babylon;² a rival claimant to the throne was already in the field. He arrived on the New Year's Festival, in time to lead the solemn procession of Bel, thereby proclaiming himself king of Babylon.³

The Assyrian empire had by now become wholly a thing of the past; Egypt lay at the feet of Babylon; Syria and Palestine were incorporated in the Babylonian empire; the north and north-east were now all part of the Median empire, and with that power Nebuchadnezzar was on friendly terms.

So far as the Babylonian records of the political history of Nebuchadnezzar's reign (604-562 B.C.) are concerned, there is a great lack, and therefore from this source very little information is forthcoming. What Pinches wrote half a century ago is substantially true to-day:

'It is difficult to find any satisfactory reason to account for the great dearth of records of the political history of the later Babylonian empire. . . . It is true we have inscribed bricks and cylinders in abundance, but they contain what may be called the "architectural history" of the country, being merely accounts of the palaces and temples erected by its kings, mingled with long and pious addresses to the gods of the land, but not one allusion to any political or other historical event.'⁴

¹ Pharaoh-Necho ascended the Egyptian throne in this year.

² See the account in Berosus quoted by Winckler, *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament*, p. 57 (1909), and Josephus, *Contra Ap.* i. 19.

³ See the very interesting and detailed account of this great annual procession by Zimmern in 'Der alte Orient', *Das babylonische Neujahrsfest*, xxv, Heft 3 (1926).

⁴ *Transactions of the Soc. for Biblical Archaeology*, vii. 210 f. (1882). It is, however, to be noted that on an inscription recently published it is said that all the records

Since this was written a few, but very few, documents of an historical character have been forthcoming. One of these witnesses to Nebuchadrezzar's campaigns; it runs:

'Under his (i.e. Marduk's) mighty protection I marched through far-off lands and distant mountain-ranges from the northern sea to the southern sea along far-stretching roads and paths which were blocked, where my steps were hindered and I was unable to stand; a toilsome journey, a thirsty way. The rebellious I subjugated, enemies I took captive; the land I ruled justly; the people I cared for; the bad and the ill-disposed I kept away from the people. Silver, gold, and precious stones, copper, palm-wood and cedar-wood, everything that was costly, in magnificent abundance, the product of the mountains, the yield of the sea, did I bring as a weighty gift and a rich tribute into my city of Babylon to his (i.e. the god's) presence.'¹

Included in the activities here referred to would probably be Nebuchadrezzar's campaign in Syria, in 602 B.C., his dealings with his rebellious Jewish vassals in 597 and 586 B.C., the details of which we have in the Old Testament (see below), his campaign against Elam, referred to in Jer. xlix. 34-8 (on this see below), and his dealings with Hophra (Apries), who, soon after his accession to the Egyptian throne (588 B.C.), supported Zedekiah in his revolt against Nebuchadrezzar (586 B.C.), and evidently suffered severely for doing so;² but in view of the activity of Egypt in Palestine in the later years of Nebuchadrezzar's reign, it could not have been very long before the former recovered from the shock.

In the year 586 B.C., or the year after, the siege of Tyre began;³ that Nebuchadrezzar was unable to reduce the city may be gathered from the words of Ezek. xxix. 17, 18: 'And it came to pass in the seven and twentieth year (i.e. of the Exile, 571 B.C.), in the first month, in the first day of the month, the word of the Lord came unto me, saying, Son of man, Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon caused his army to serve a

of Nabonidus that could be found were broken (Sidney Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts*, p. 30 [1924]); this would be one reason for the lack of material.

¹ Winckler, *op. cit.*, p. 55; Langdon, *op. cit.*, No. 14, p. 115.

² See Ezek. xxx. 20-6, especially verses 24, 25: 'And I will strengthen the arms of the king of Babylon, and put my sword in his hand; but I will break the arms of Pharaoh, and he shall groan before him with the groanings of a deadly wounded man. And I will hold up the arms of the king of Babylon, and the arms of Pharaoh shall fall down. . . .' Hophra's object was doubtless to gain Palestine once more for Egypt.

³ Cp. Josephus, *Antiq.* x. 228, *Contra Ap.* i. 156.

great service against Tyre; every head was made bald, and every shoulder was peeled; yet had he no wages, nor his army, from Tyre, for the service that he had served against it.¹ The siege lasted for thirteen years; ultimately it capitulated and lost its independence, but it was not destroyed (573 or 572 B.C.).²

In the meantime, the constant activity of Egypt in seeking to foment rebellion against Babylon among the smaller states of Syria necessitated drastic action on the part of Nebuchadnezzar. A few years after the capitulation of Tyre he undertook a campaign against Amasis, now the occupant of the Egyptian throne; this was in the thirty-seventh year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, 568 or 567 B.C.³ Amasis was defeated, but Nebuchadnezzar made no attempt to conquer Egypt, as Josephus asserts;⁴ it was sufficient that Egypt was prevented both from making mischief among the vassal states of the west and from seeking to wrest Palestine from the Babylonian empire. By his victory over Amasis, Nebuchadnezzar had subdued the last adversary who could have occasioned him any serious trouble. The remaining years of his reign were, so far as is known, peaceful, and he left his successor an empire consolidated and prosperous, one which he himself had built up.⁵ The estimation in which he was held is illustrated by Jer. xxvii. 4-8, where the prophet says: 'Thus saith Yahweh of hosts, the God of Israel . . . and now have I given all these lands into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon, my servant; and the beasts of the field also have I given him to serve him. And all the nations shall serve him, and his son and his son's son, until the time of his own land come . . . and it shall come to pass, that the nation and the kingdom which will not serve the same Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and that will not put their neck under the yoke of the king of Babylon, that nation will I punish, saith Yahweh, with the sword, and with the famine, and with the pestilence, until I have consumed them by his hand.'⁶

It is conceivable that the words 'until the time of his own

¹ See also Ezek. xxvii. 3-36, xxviii. 12-19.

² For further details see E. Unger in the *Zeitschrift für die A. T. Wissenschaft*, xliv. 314-17 (1926).

³ This is recorded on an inscription first published by Pinches in the *Trans. of the Soc. for Bibl. Arch.*, vii. 218-25 (1882); see also Langdon, *op. cit.*, Nab. No. 48, p. 207; Hommel, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, pp. 750, 760 (1885).

⁴ *Antiq.* x. 180.

⁵ See further, Hommel, *op. cit.*, pp. 763-71.

⁶ Cf. also Josephus, *Antiq.* x. 219-28.

land come' may have been prompted by the foresight of the prophet in discerning in the growing power to the east and north-east of Babylonia a menace which sooner or later would prove serious; but whether or not this was the case it is certain that already during the later years of the reign of Nebuchadrezzar signs of decay in the military strength of Babylon were beginning to show themselves; for a letter is extant from a captain stationed at Uruk (Erech) in which he expresses the fear that the bad condition of his company may become known to the commander-in-chief, Gubaru.¹ It was also an ominous sign, to which Kittel draws attention,² that mercenaries were being employed in the Babylonian army. The increase of wealth, with its inevitable accompaniment of luxury and self-indulgence, may well have contributed, also, to sap the virility of the people. Certain it is that soon after the great king's death indications of weakness began to show themselves prominently in the State.

Nebuchadrezzar was succeeded by his son Amel-Marduk (the Evil-Merodach of 2 Kgs. xxv. 27-30; Jer. lii. 31-4) in 561 B.C.;³ he reigned barely two years when he was murdered by his brother-in-law, Neriglissar (the Nergal-sharezer of Jer. xxxix. 3, one of 'the princes of the king'), who usurped the throne (560 B.C.). Nothing of importance is recorded of either of these kings, and the same is true of Neriglissar's son, who succeeded him in 556 B.C.; this was Labashi-Marduk; on an inscription of Nabonidus⁴ it says that Neriglissar had gone the way of fate, 'Labashi-Marduk, his young son, who had not yet attained to understanding, seated himself upon the throne of the kingdom against the wish of the gods'. The inscription then goes on to tell of how Nabonidus succeeded to the throne: 'At the command of Marduk my Lord was I raised to the rulership of the land, while they shouted, "Father of the land! His equal exists not!"' This means, of course, that Nabonidus headed a revolution and succeeded in making himself proclaimed king.⁵

¹ The text of the letter is given in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, xi. 165 ff.; see also Meissner, *Babylon und Assyrien*, i. 88 ff. (1920).

² *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, iii. 9 (1927).

³ On a very mutilated inscription of Nabonidus, which evidently contained the lengths of the reigns of his predecessors, mention is made of the 43rd year of Nebuchadrezzar and the 4th year of Neriglissar (Langdon, *op. cit.*, Nab. No. 9, i. 24-6).

⁴ Langdon, *op. cit.*, Nab. No. 8, iv. 34 ff.

⁵ On three of his inscriptions he speaks of himself as the son of Nabo-balatsu-itsbi (Langdon, *op. cit.*, Nab. Nos. 10, 11, 12).

According to the Ptolemaic Canon, Nabonidus reigned seventeen years; the last of the numerous contract tablets belonging to his time is dated the seventeenth year of his reign¹ (555-539 B.C.). Although, as we have seen, indications were not wanting to show that all was not well in the empire during the later years of Nebuchadrezzar's reign, nevertheless when Nabonidus came to the throne he ruled over an empire which stood almost intact as Nebuchadrezzar had bequeathed it, and this in spite of considerable confusion during the reigns of his immediate predecessors; Syria, it is true, had been lost, but Phoenicia and Palestine were under Babylonian suzerainty.²

One of the first acts of his reign was to undertake a campaign in Syria, where his vassals had rebelled. Apparently it had been considered more necessary to take precautions against Egypt than against vassal states of Syria, for while there is no mention of Babylonian troops having been stationed in Syria proper, we read of their presence in Gaza, not far from the Egyptian frontier. Some details regarding this Syrian campaign are to be gathered both from the inscriptions published by Langdon and from the 'Persian Verse Account of Nabonidus' and 'The Nabonidus Chronicle', published by Sidney Smith.³ During the whole of the year 554 B.C. he was preparing for this campaign, gathering his troops together not only from Babylonia, but also from Phoenicia and Palestine;⁴ during the next year he apparently had no difficulty in subduing the Syrians;⁵ but presumably this was only a preliminary step in furthering the design which seems to have been his real purpose in coming to the west. The inscription (i.e. the Persian Verse Account) is much mutilated, so that there must be some uncertainty about the course of events. During the year 553 B.C. he was busy building a temple for the moon-god Sin in Harran, east of Carchemish; having completed this he appointed his eldest son Bel-shar-uzur (Belshazzar) regent⁶ of the kingdom. This left him free to pursue his objective southwards; there was

¹ Hommel, *op. cit.*, p. 778.

² Sidney Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts*, p. 43 (1924).

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 27-97, 93-123.

⁴ Langdon, *op. cit.*, Nab. No. 1, i. 1 ff.

⁵ Langdon, *op. cit.*, Nab. No. 1, i. 39, 40.

⁶ In the Nabonidus Chronicle No. 2 he is called the 'Crown Prince' a number of times. See further J. Lewy, in *Mittheilungen der Vorderasiat.-ägypt. Ges.*, Heft 2 (1924); Dougherty, *Nabonidus and Belshazzar* (1929); Rowley, in *Journal Theol. Studies*, xxxii. 12-31 (1930).

a temporary check owing to his illness while in the Lebanon district; but he soon recovered, and followed his army through Ammurru (the west country) to the east of Jordan on to the city of Tema' in Adummu, the Biblical Edom. He captured the city, put the king to death, and built himself a palace similar to his palace in Babylon. This all took place in 552 B.C.¹ That this was the real object for which Nabonidus came to the west is borne out by the fact that he remained here until the eleventh year of his reign, 544 B.C., possibly a year longer, and after a short absence came back again. Tema' is the modern Taima' in Arabia Felix, in the oasis of the western Arabian desert; it was a strange place for a Babylonian monarch to choose for the royal residence; but the reason probably was trade;² at the same time, there may have been other reasons. Nabonidus was notoriously unpopular in his own country, and life was likely to have been more peaceful in this desert-surrounded spot. Moreover, his studious tastes and archaeological studies could be more easily pursued far from the centre of political distractions. On the other hand, although the king himself may have lived a retired life in Tema', a royal residence could not fail to be a centre of considerable activity of one kind or another. There would of necessity be the king's bodyguard of Babylonian troops,³ and a certain amount of coming to and fro from Babylon would be inevitable, quite apart from the caravans. And further, such a royal centre could not possibly be without some effect on the neighbouring peoples, and the nearest of these would be the Jews; from our present point of view that is a fact of particular interest.

Besides the Syrian and Edomite campaigns, Nabonidus refers to others and speaks of the captives taken;⁴ these may, as Hommel suggests, have been not so much warlike campaigns as peaceful journeys undertaken for the purpose of gathering materials for his buildings.⁵ But if Nabonidus was not a warrior,

¹ Sidney Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 77 ff., 100.

² 'From the time of Tiglath-pileser onwards the Assyrian monarchs continually sought to increase their hold upon the trade routes through Edom and the lands to the south. . . . Now it would be impossible to find a more convenient place from which to control the trade routes from north to south, from east to west, than at Tema', a place renowned for its caravans in the time of the writer of the *Book of Job*, whence two main routes to Gerra and Sheba diverged' (Sidney Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 81); in Job vi. 19 mention is made of the 'caravans of Tema'.

³ Mentioned in the *Persian Verse Account*, ii. 31.

⁴ Langdon, *op. cit.*, Nab. No. 8, ix. 31, 32.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 779 ff.

it is to be noted that his political foresight was shown by the fact that, realizing the growing power of the Persians, he broke off his earlier friendly relations with the Medes and allied himself with Cyrus.¹ It was of no avail, as the sequel showed; but the purpose he had in view suggests that he had something of the statesman about him. His main interests, however, centred in archaeological research; 'he was a scholar with a most conservative respect for old records and customs, and was never happier than when he could excavate some ancient foundation-stone'.² But posterity has every reason to be grateful to him for the work he did in this direction, and it is no exaggeration when Hommel says that in this respect his reign is 'one of the most important in the whole history of Babylon'.³ As an illustration of Nabonidus's activity in this direction mention may be made of one of his inscriptions in which he tells of how he discovered the foundation-stone of the Shamash-temple in Sippar; he dug down eighteen ells into the soil and came upon this foundation-stone which had been laid by Naram-Sin, the son of Sargon; for 3,200 years previously, he says, no king before him had had a sight of it.⁴ In another inscription he refers to the subject again saying that he 'renovated the foundation-stone of the ancient king Naram-Sin, and made it an object of glory'.⁵

Early in the reign of Nabonidus the dominating figure of Cyrus had appeared. Ruler of the small kingdom of Anshan,⁶ and vassal of Astyages the king of Media, Cyrus revolted against his suzerain in 550-549 B.C.

Astyages, as the Nabonidus Chronicle (ii. 1-4) tells us, 'marched against Cyrus king of Anshan . . . Ishtumegu's (i.e. Astyages') army mutinied and he was captured, and they gave him up to Cyrus'.⁷

The state over which Cyrus now ruled, therefore, was the Medo-Persian, but its extent was destined to be greatly enlarged. It was natural enough that the rise of this new conqueror should cause misgivings among the rulers of the other great powers, Babylonia, Egypt, and the Lydian kingdom; they,

¹ Langdon, *op. cit.*, Nab. No. 8, ii. 3; cp. also No. 1, p. 221.

² Campbell Thomson in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, iii. 218.

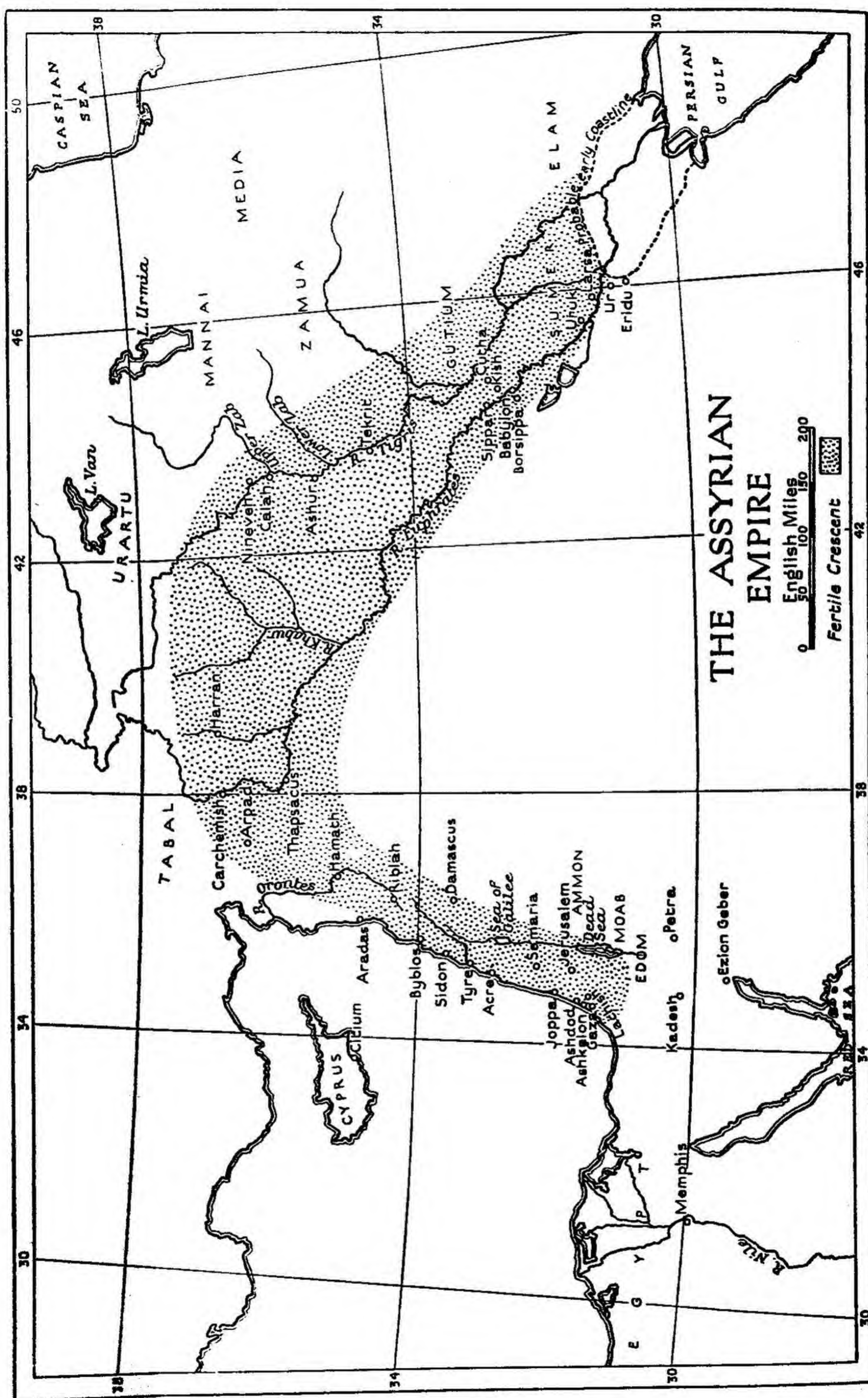
³ *Op. cit.*, p. 779.

⁴ Langdon, *op. cit.*, Nab. No. 1, ii. 47-58.

⁵ Langdon, *op. cit.*, Nab. No. 2, i. 17-20.

⁶ The inscriptions designate him king of Anshan and also king of Persia.

⁷ Sidney Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 115; cp. also Langdon, *op. cit.*, Nab. No. 8, ii. 3.



therefore, formed an alliance for the purpose of curbing his pretensions. Croesus, king of the Lydians, took the lead, in 547 B.C., by raiding part of Cyrus' dominions; an indecisive battle ensued, after which, the winter coming on, Croesus retired to Sardes, sending messengers to his allies, Nabonidus king of Babylon and Amasis king of Egypt, to be ready by the spring to begin hostilities. But Cyrus forestalled this by an advance upon Sardes. In the battle which followed Croesus was signally defeated, with the result that his kingdom became a thing of the past. Almost the whole of Asia Minor became now incorporated in the empire of Cyrus. Croesus was put to death.¹

Since, as we have just seen, Croesus sent to his allies, Nabonidus and Amasis, in 547 B.C., to be ready in the spring to join in attacking Cyrus, it is clear that by this time Cyrus and Nabonidus were enemies. It is disappointing that the records give us practically no information as to the course of events during the next few years. Not until 540 or 539 B.C. is it possible to take up the historical thread again. Probably it was in the latter that Cyrus came down to Arabia to drive Nabonidus out of Tema'.² This was a necessary preliminary to the attack on Babylon. It had the desired effect, and Nabonidus returned to Babylon. Thither he was very soon followed by Cyrus. The siege of greater Babylon, which included the great wall of Nebuchadrezzar, is described in the Nabonidus Chronicle iii. 12-20 thus:

'In Teshri³ Cyrus, when he did battle at Opis on the Tigris against the troops of Akkad, burnt the people of Akkad with fire, he killed the people. On the 14th Sippar was taken without a battle. Nabonidus fled.'

The capture of Opis meant the command of the canal-system;⁴ Nebuchadrezzar's wall ran from Sippar to Opis. The Chronicle then continues:

'On the 16th Ugbaru (Gobryas), the governor of Gutium and the troops of Cyrus entered Babylon without a battle. Afterwards, Nabonidus, when he returned to Babylon⁵ was taken prisoner.

¹ On Croesus see Herodotus, i. 84-91; Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, vii. 1, 2; *Nabonidus Chronicle*, ii. 16-18.

² *Cyropaedia*, vii. 4. 16; Berosus in Josephus, *Contra Ap.* i. 150.

³ = October.

⁴ See further *Cyropaedia*, vii. 5. 26-30. Cp. Jer. li. 36.

⁵ He had escaped to Borsippa (Berosus, quoted by Josephus, *Contra Ap.* i. 151). It is difficult to understand why Nabonidus should have returned to Babylon after

Until the end of the month the arms of Gutium surrounded the gates of Esagila. No one's weapon was set up in Esagila or the temples, and no appointed ceremony was passed over. In Marcheswan¹ on the 3rd Cyrus entered Babylon. Branches of . . . were spread before him. There was peace in the city. Cyrus proclaimed peace to Babylon, to every one.²

According to Xenophon (*Cyropaedia*, viii. 5. 31), Gobryas' troops put Nabonidus to death; but the Chronicle merely says he was taken prisoner. Berosus (in Josephus, *Contra Ap.* i. 153) says that 'he was at first kindly used by Cyrus, who gave him Carmania as a place for him to dwell in, but sent him out of Babylonia. Accordingly, Nabonidus spent the rest of his time in that country, and there died'.

The actual year of the fall of Babylon was 538 B.C. Cyrus made it the royal residence, and assumed the title of 'King of Babylon, King of the lands'. The Neo-Babylonian empire thus came to an end.

it had been captured. On the Cyrus Cylinder, line 17, it is said that Merodach spared his own city, Babylon, from distress, and delivered Nabonidus, who feared him not, into the hands of Cyrus. Nothing is said about Nabonidus having escaped to Borsippa; nor is there any mention of what happened to him after his capture. See Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels*, p. 381 (1912); Baumgartner, in the *Zeitschrift für die A. T. Wissenschaft*, xlv. 38-56 (1926).

¹ = November.

² Mr. C. J. Gadd has kindly drawn the writer's attention to an inscription first published by him in Gadd and Lyrain, *Ur Excavations, Royal Inscriptions*, No. 194, p. 58 (1928): 'Cyrus, king of all, king of Anshan, son of Cambyses; the great gods have delivered all the lands into my hand; the land I have made to dwell (in) a peaceful habitation.'

CHRONOLOGY

IN dealing with the somewhat complicated subject of the chronology of the different periods covered by this volume it will be necessary, even at the risk of repeating to some extent what has already been said in the first volume, to fix our starting-point in an earlier period; for the chronology of the present volume will be more easily followed if we start from the earlier times, and bring it down through the changing historical conditions to the Roman period.

I

We must begin by pointing out that the problems of the chronology are sometimes complicated by the fact that in the earliest historical times the Semites were guided in their time-reckoning by the lunar month. For the hunter and the nomad the phases of the moon were of primary significance—though the seasons were of course also important; the regular appearance of the new moon must in very early times have been the inducement to count the months.¹ On the other hand, the agriculturist naturally laid more stress on the seasons,² and therefore on the solar year. It would have been noticed at some very early period that as the lunar month consisted approximately of $29\frac{1}{2}$ days, therefore after twelve or thirteen lunar months the same seasons recurred; when, later, the days of the solar year were reckoned it must have been noticed sooner or later that the respective number of days of the lunar and solar years did not correspond; as we know, the lunar year has eleven days less than the solar year; with the various ways in which this discrepancy was adjusted we are not concerned, that belongs to the story of the calendar.³ It is only mentioned here in order to point to one of the complications in which the subject of biblical chronology is involved.

II

In the Old Testament there is no chronological era in the proper sense. There is a fictitious scheme according to which the Hebrew era began with the exodus from Egypt; from that event to the building of Solomon's temple is stated to have been a period of 480 years (1 Kings vi. 1); from the completion of Solomon's temple to the completion of the second temple is reckoned as another 480 years, thus: counting the years in the synchronous lists of the kings of Israel and Judah⁴ to the eleventh year of Zedekiah, i.e. when the

¹ See further, Przybyłok, *Unser Kalender in Vergangenheit und Zukunft*, pp. 7–9 (1930).

² Cp. Gen. viii. 22.

³ Przybyłok, *op. cit.*, pp. 16–19.

⁴ Account must be taken of the fact that the year in which a king died is reckoned as the last year of his reign, and also as the first year of his successor's reign, so that these years are reckoned twice over.

Jewish state came to an end, we get 407 years; to this must be added 70 years from the beginning of the Exile to the second year of the reign of Darius (Zech. i. 1, vii. 5), and three more to the fifth year of Darius when the second temple was completed, thus making 480 years. The artificiality of this reckoning is seen in that each period of 480 years is equivalent to twelve generations of 40 years each; furthermore, the event with which the scheme starts is not dated; nor is it possible to gather from the Old Testament what year B.C. the second year of the reign of Darius was. Whatever this year was, according to our mode of reckoning, it was cited according to the Persian system of reckoning years; and this followed that of Assyria and Babylonia, which was the same as that of the early Babylonian empire, i.e. their year began in the spring with the month of Nisan;¹ the Hebrew year, on the other hand, began in the autumn;² only when their land was conquered by Nebuchadnezzar and incorporated in the Neo-Babylonian empire did the Jews adopt the spring as the beginning of their year.³ Thus it is in the P account of the Passover that we have the words:

‘This month shall be unto you the beginning of months; it shall be the first month of the year to you’, followed by the account of the Passover, the spring festival, the celebration of which began in the evening of the 14th day of Nisan⁴ (Exod. xii. 2–20).

III⁵

Several systems of dating events were at different times employed by the Babylonians and Assyrians. In Babylonia the method generally followed in the early period was by outstanding events; each year as it passed was named after the principal occurrence; these names were used not only for historical purposes, but also on the private documents of a king; e.g. ‘the year of Hammurabi, when he established righteousness in the land’. It may be noted, in passing, that the Hebrews also used this method before the Exile, as not a few instances attest, e.g. ‘The words of Amos . . . which he saw . . . two years before the earthquake’ (Am. i. 1, cp. Zech. xiv. 5); ‘In the

¹ For the lists of the Assyrian months see Winckler, *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament*, pp. 79 ff. (1909).

² The Gezer Calendar (discovered during the 1908 excavations on the site of ancient Gezer by the Palestine Exploration Fund) gives as the first month the ‘month of ingathering’, i.e. that in which the autumn harvest festival was celebrated; see further Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, iii. 36 ff. (1909–15).

³ They adopted at the same time the Babylonian names of the months; previous to this the names of the months used by the Hebrews were the old Canaanite names; a few of these have survived: *Abib* (Exod. xiii. 4, &c.), *Ziv* (1 Kgs. vi. 37), *Ethanim* (1 Kgs. viii. 2), *Bul* (1 Kgs. vi. 38).

⁴ = March–April.

⁵ The writer desires to express his thanks to Mr. G. R. Driver for this section.

year that Tartan came unto Ashdod' (Isa. xx. 1); 'In the year that king Uzziah died' (Isa. vi. 1), and others. But this method was found, in course of time, to be too cumbrous; and the difficulty of remembering strings of events in the correct order is obvious and could not conduce to accuracy. The Babylonians, therefore, substituted the number of the regnal year of the king for the outstanding event of the year, e.g. 'In the first year of Ashurnadin-shum . . .' This system was likewise adopted later by the Hebrews as we can see by various instances in the books of *Kings*, e.g. 'In the seventh year of Jehu began Jehoash to reign' (2 Kgs. xii. 1); 'And it came to pass in the eighteenth year of Josiah . . .' (2 Kgs. xxii. 3).

Further, the Babylonian chroniclers introduced *synchronisms* between the dates of the kings of Babylonia and Assyria, e.g. 'In the third year of Nabu-nasir, King of Babylon, Tukulti-apal-esarra ascended the throne of Assyria'. This clearly lies at the base of the synchronisms between the kings of Israel and Judah which the compilers have introduced, so far as they were able, throughout the books of *Kings*.

IV

With regard to the Assyrians, we have first what are called the *Limmu*-lists,¹ i.e. each year was named after a high official or eponym, and against his name was recorded any important event or events which occurred during his year.² On these lists the reigns of the individual kings are marked off by a stroke. But it must also be noted that the year in the course of which a king died was reckoned as one of the years of his reign and in regard to his successor this was reckoned as 'the year of the beginning' of his reign; but the actual first year of his reign only began with the first of Nisan (New Year's Day=21 March) of the year next following, so that his first regnal year ran from the first day of Nisan to the last day of the last month (Adar) of the year.

But though a strict chronological record of events was kept by the Babylonians and Assyrians there could be no real certainty about the correctness of their dates, from the point of view of our reckoning, unless there were a fixed starting-point, a date about the correctness of which there could be no doubt at all. And such a date we have. On one of the *Limmu*-lists it is recorded against the ninth year of Ashur-dan, during which the eponym was Bur-Sagale, that 'in the

¹ There are four of these lists published by Winckler (*op. cit.*, pp. 71-8); a simple list of eponyms, an eponym chronicle, i.e. recorded events placed against the name of each eponym, and two fragmentary eponym chronicles; see also George Smith, *Assyrian Eponym Canon* (1875).

² The system was similar to that which obtained in classical Athens where the *Archon Eponymos* gave his name to the year; and also later in Rome when dates were indicated by the names of the consuls in office.

month of Siwan (third month) an eclipse of the sun took place'. It has been astronomically proved that this was the total eclipse of the sun which occurred on the 15 June 763 B.C., according to our reckoning, and that it was visible at Nineveh.¹ Having, then, this certain date from which to start, it is not a difficult matter to fix all the dates of the eponyms, and therefore of the regnal years of the kings, in these *Limmu*-lists, or the 'Assyrian Canon', as it is often called.

The 'Assyrian Canon' is supplemented by the 'Ptolemaic Canon'; this is a similar list which was drawn up by the Egyptian astronomer Claudius Ptolymaeus (second century A.D.); it gives the names of Neo-Babylonian, Persian, Greek and Roman rulers, together with the number of the years of their reigns, eclipses are also mentioned.

Starting from this fixed date 763 B.C., and reckoning backwards and forwards, it is seen that the outside dates on the Assyrian Canon are 893 and 666 B.C., but both the beginning and end are mutilated so that originally the list extended in each direction. In the same way, the earliest date of the Ptolemaic Canon is 747 B.C., and the dates are brought down to the compiler's own time; so that for the years 747 to 666 we have a twofold record.

But in addition to this there are the numerous historical texts: Babylonian, among which must be reckoned the Amarna tablets, Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, and Persian; in most of these the regnal year is given of the events recorded, so that the exact dates of these events can be designated by reckoning backwards and forwards, as the case may be, from the certain date 763 B.C. For example, an inscription of Shalmaneser III says: 'In the eponym year of Daian-Ashur, in the month Airu (i.e. the second month), on the fourteenth day, I set out from Nineveh . . .'; the king's victories are then described, and mention is made of the battle of Karkar at which various kings fought, among whom the Israelite king Ahab is named. Turning to the *Limmu*-lists, and reckoning back from the fixed date 763 B.C., it is seen that the eponym year of Daian-Ashur was 853 B.C., the battle of Karkar was therefore fought in this year; but according to the Hebrew mode of reckoning the date would be 854 because the Hebrew year, as we have seen, began in the autumn; so that the Hebrew equivalent of the Babylonian second month of the year would be the eighth month of the preceding year.

In reckoning forwards we have, in addition to the *Limmu*-lists which take us down to 666 B.C., the Ptolemaic Canon from the year 747 B.C.; but in this case the names of the Babylonian, Persian, &c., kings are given, together with the number of years each king reigned. Down to the fall of Jerusalem, which took place in the summer of

¹ *Co. Camb. Anc. Hist.* i. 149 (1923); Winckler, *op. cit.*, pp. 72, 75.

the 19th year of Nebuchadrezzar, i.e. 585 B.C., the Hebrew dates, as we have seen, must be reckoned one year earlier than the Babylonian;¹ but after this date the Jews adopted the Babylonian year. The same applies to the Persian period.

V

With the Greek chronological system we are not concerned here,² though a brief reference to it will be made presently. But with the Seleucid era matters became again somewhat complicated. In a recent work, Kolbe³ has gone into this question in much detail and with great acumen, and he has conclusively proved that the system of reckoning hitherto employed by scholars is wrong; his very carefully worked out argument, and the way in which he establishes date by date, carries conviction; it may be confidently asserted that in future scholars will recognize that, so far as the Seleucid era is concerned, many of the dates hitherto accepted will have to be revised.

This is not the place to follow out Kolbe's intricate arguments; it must suffice to state his conclusions: It is accepted on all hands that the Babylonian year began in the spring, as already pointed out; Winckler was the first to establish this fact without possibility of doubt. It was only after a new ruler had 'taken hold of the hands' of the god in the temple of Bel-Marduk on the first of Nisan (New Year's Day) that he was recognized as the legitimate king. This held good not only for the Babylonian kings, but also for the Persian and Greek conquerors. There can, therefore, be no doubt about the fact that the Babylonian era of the Seleucids began on New Year's Day of the year following the conquest of the land, i.e. the first of Nisan 311 B.C., not 312 B.C. as usually held. This is the original form of the era.

The Syro-Macedonian calendar, however, began the year on the first of Dios (September-October); and as the Syrian Greeks wished to bring the Seleucid New Year's Day into conformity with theirs, they introduced a purely fictitious era beginning with the first of Dios 312 B.C., since the month of the year 311 B.C. fell within the Greek year which began in the previous autumn. This, therefore, was the Syro-Greek form of the Seleucid era, as opposed to the Babylonian form. And the former coincided with the Olympiad years, approximately, which ran from autumn to autumn, 'especially with the form of the Olympiad years introduced by Polybius';

¹ Excepting, of course, when an event happened during one of those months which belonged to the same Babylonian and Hebrew year, i.e., approximately, the seventh to the twelfth month in the Hebrew year would correspond with the first to the sixth of the Babylonian.

² See Przybyllok, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-20.

³ *Beiträge zur syrischen und jüdischen Geschichte* (1926).

and as the Greek chronographers reckoned according to Olympiad years, a mode of reckoning with which scholars were more familiar, it was natural enough that all the dates of the Seleucid era which are given in the documents should have been reckoned according to the Macedonian method.

The Seleucid era, therefore, starts with the first of Nisan 311 B.C., because that is the year following Seleucus' conquest; according to the Syro-Greeks this year would be 312 B.C. which began in the previous autumn; so that, following Kolbe's lead, we shall give dates according to the Babylonian system. In some few cases uncertainty exists as to the exact date of an event, and in regard to which opinions may therefore differ; but this is owing to want of conciseness, or ambiguity, or contradiction, in the sources.

Regarding the dates of the Roman period it need only be pointed out that Caesar reformed the Roman calendar in 45 B.C.; and that the solar year then introduced of 365 days, with the addition of an extra day every four years, is, with a slight occasional adjustment, the system still in use.¹

¹ See further, Przybyłok, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-5.

Chapter III

THE EVENTS LEADING UP TO THE EXILE¹

SUMMARY

[In the year 609 B.C. Judah became the vassal-state of Egypt. This vassalage lasted, however, only a few years, for at the battle of Carchemish (605 B.C.), when the Egyptians were defeated by Nebuchadrezzar, Judah became subject to Babylon. Owing to the influence of the pro-Egyptian party in Judah the anti-Babylonian movements under Jehoiakim and Zedekiah finally brought about the downfall of the Jewish State. Deportations of Jews to Babylonia took place in 597 and 586 B.C.; but there is reason to believe that the statement that only the poorest people were left in the land must not be taken too literally. The part played by the prophet Jeremiah during these critical years is particularly to be noted. Insight and foresight made it perfectly clear to him that subjection to the Babylonian ruler was the only policy which could save the State; he did his utmost to convince the influential leaders of this, but in vain; there can be little doubt but that Zedekiah was of the same mind as the prophet; but he was a man of unstable character and was overborne by Jeremiah's adversaries. After the first deportation Jeremiah continued his efforts in seeking to persuade the exiles to acquiesce in their lot, and he discouraged an intrigue carried on by restless spirits both among the exiles and in Palestine; but again in vain.]

After the fall of Jerusalem Nebuchadrezzar appointed Gedaliah governor of Judah; very soon after, however, Ishmael, a member of the royal house, murdered Gedaliah, apparently with the intention of setting up the monarchy again; in this he had the support of the king of Ammon. The attempt came to nought, Ishmael was attacked by Johanan, the son of Kareah, a loyal follower of Gedaliah, and fled to the court of the king of Ammon; nothing further is known of him. Johanan and his followers, fearing that Babylonian vengeance for the murder of Gedaliah would be vented on them, decided to flee into Egypt; Jeremiah, much against his will, was forced to accompany the fugitives.]

THE practical independence of the kingdom of Judah during the reign of Josiah, owing to the pre-occupations of Ashurbanipal and his successors with affairs in other parts of his empire, came to an end when the Jewish king sought to interfere with Pharaoh-Necho on his way to the support of the Assyrian army against Nabopolassar (609 B.C.).² The result was that the

¹ See also vol. i, pp. 415 ff.

² 2 Kgs. xxiii. 29.

kingdom of Judah, instead of being nominally the vassal-state of Assyria, became in actual fact subject to Egypt; so that when the Jewish people set Josiah's younger son, Jehoahaz,¹ on the throne without consulting their suzerain, he was promptly deposed by Pharaoh-Necho and imprisoned 'at Riblah in the land of Hamath' (2 Kgs. xxiii. 33), the land being laid under a tribute of a hundred talents of silver and ten talents of gold.² The imprisonment of Jehoahaz in Riblah, the Egyptian king's head-quarters, was only temporary, and until Pharaoh-Necho had settled affairs in his new vassal-state. Leaving, presumably, an army of occupation, whether in Riblah or elsewhere, he returned to Egypt, taking with him Jehoahaz, of whom it is simply recorded that he 'died there' (2 Kgs. xxiii. 34). The tragic fate of these two kings of Judah, Josiah, and Jehoahaz, is referred to by Jeremiah in the words: 'Weep not for him who is dead, neither bemoan him; but weep sore for him that hath gone away; for he shall return no more, nor shall he see again the land where he was born'³ (Jer. xxii. 10).

The question arises here why it was that Jehoahaz was placed upon the throne by 'the people of the land' (2 Kgs. xxiii. 30; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 1) instead of his elder brother, the rightful heir; the answer, in all probability, is that Jehoahaz represented the national party in Judah who believed that the practical independence of the land enjoyed under the reign of Josiah could be continued; his elder brother, on the other hand, was impressed by the activity of Egypt and favoured a pro-Egyptian policy. This would account for the sequel; for in place of Jehoahaz Pharaoh-Necho set the elder brother, Eliakim, upon the throne; the assigning to him a new name, Jehoiakim, by the Egyptian king, may perhaps have been intended to indicate that he was Pharaoh-Necho's vassal.⁴

Jehoiakim, who came to the throne in 609/608 B.C., remained loyal to Egypt; but his people had to suffer by being heavily taxed in order to pay the tribute demanded by Pharaoh-Necho (2 Kgs. xxiii. 35). In addition to this his luxury and extravagance caused him to exact still more from the people, and the

¹ In 1 Chron. iii. 15 his name is given as Shallum.

² The Hebrew has one talent of gold, but the Septuagint evidently reflects the correct text in reading 'ten'.

³ Following the text of the Septuagint.

⁴ Cp. the action of Nebuchadrezzar who changed the name of Mattaniah to Zedekiah when he placed him on the throne of Judah.

picture which Jeremiah draws shows him to have been a cruel oppressor: 'Woe unto him that buildeth his house by unrighteousness, and his chambers by injustice; that useth his neighbour's service without wages, and giveth him not his hire; that saith, I will build me a wide house and spacious chambers, and cutteth him out windows; and it is ceiled with cedar, and painted with vermilion. Shalt thou reign by vieing with cedar? Did not thy father eat and drink, and do justice and right, and it was well with him? He judged the cause of the poor and needy,¹—was not this to know me, saith Yahweh. But thine eyes and thine heart are not but for thy covetousness, and for to shed innocent blood, and for oppression, and for violence, to do it' (Jer. xxii. 13-17).²

The possibility must, however, be reckoned with that, to some extent at least, Jehoiakim, in making these exactions, was the victim of circumstances; for, it is clear enough from Jer. xxvi and xxxvi, that there were two parties in the state, and that Jeremiah, in his opposition to the king, was not without support from some who were in high position. So that if Jehoiakim were to retain his throne it could only be by the help of Egypt; and this, again, could be secured and retained only at a price.

But Jehoiakim's reliance on Egypt was soon to receive a severe shock, for in 605 B.C. occurred the battle of Carchemish, when Nebuchadrezzar gained his overwhelming victory over Pharaoh-Necho; this was one of the turning-points in the world's history, for the Chaldaean power was now supreme, and Egypt's dreams of world-power were shattered. It was in reference to Egypt that Jeremiah cried: 'The nations have heard thy plaint,³ and the earth is full of thy cry; for the mighty man hath stumbled against the mighty, and they are fallen both of them together' (Jer. xlv, 12, and see the whole chapter).

Jehoiakim was now, in consequence, Nebuchadrezzar's vassal, and as long as he remained loyal he was left in peace. But the parties within the Jewish State, of which mention has already been made, continued active; and the party which still looked to Egypt for guidance gained the upper hand, being in all

¹ Omitting 'then it was well', with the Septuagint.

² Jehoiakim is mentioned in verse 18.

³ So the Septuagint, which offers a better parallel to 'thy cry' than the Hebrew 'thy shame'.

probability supported by the king; the result was that in 602 B.C. Jehoiakim rebelled against his suzerain (2 Kgs. xxiv. 1). The narrative then goes on to say that Yahweh sent against Jehoiakim 'bands of the Chaldeans, and bands of the Syrians, and bands of the Moabites, and bands of the children of Ammon, and sent them against Judah to destroy it' (2 Kgs. xxiv. 2); this is how the pious historian explains what happened. The fact would seem to be that when Nebuchadrezzar had defeated the Egyptians at Carchemish and returned to his own country, he left a small army of occupation in Syria; this army, reinforced by bands from small vassal states, was sent against the rebel king, but they were evidently not strong enough to subdue Jehoiakim,¹ since nothing further happened for the present. Nebuchadrezzar must, presumably, have been too much occupied in other parts of his empire to come himself. At any rate, it was not until 597 B.C. that he took firmer steps to deal with his Judaeen vassal. Jehoiakim did not, however, live to see the full results of this. The records differ as to the manner of his death; in 2 Kgs. xxiv. 6 it is simply said that 'he slept with his fathers', implying that his death was peaceful; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6 records that Nebuchadrezzar 'bound him in fetters, to carry him to Babylon';² while according to Jer. xxii. 18, 19 it is prophesied that 'he shall be buried with the burial of an ass, drawn and cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem', a prophecy which, in substance, is repeated in Jer. xxxvi. 30: 'His dead body shall be cast out in the day to the heat, and in the night to the frost.' Considering the relationship between Jeremiah and Jehoiakim one can understand the spirit of these prophecies; but it does not follow that they came true. The words of 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6 were conceivably based on 2 Kgs. xxv. 7, where the same words occur in reference to Zedekiah (he is confused with Jehoiakim in Jer. xxvii. 1). Upon the whole, there does not seem sufficient reason for not accepting the evidence of 2 Kgs. xxiv. 6 and the Septuagint of 2 Chron. xxxvi. 8, and concluding that Jehoiakim died a peaceful death; 2 Kgs. xxiv. 8 ff. makes it clear that he was dead and buried well before the advent of Nebuchadrezzar.

¹ The Septuagint of 2 Chron. xxxvi. 5, after saying that the Lord had sent these various bands against Jehoiakim, adds: 'and they departed after this', which suggests that the attacks were unsuccessful.

² The Septuagint of 2 Chron. xxxvi. 8, however, says that he was buried in the garden of Uzza (cp. 2 Kgs. xxi. 18, 26).

Jehoiakim was succeeded by his son Jehoiachin, or Coniah (Jer. xxii. 24 and elsewhere), to whom he bequeathed the result of his disloyalty to Nebuchadrezzar. Barely was Jehoiachin seated on the throne before the Babylonian army, led by the king's officers, and afterwards joined by the king in person, appeared before the gates of Jerusalem. Jehoiachin saw that resistance was useless, so he capitulated, and came forth to the king of Babylon, 'he and his mother and his servants, and his princes, and his officers' (2 Kgs. xxiv. 12). Nebuchadrezzar, after plundering the palace and the temple of their treasures, returned to Babylon with many captives. This was the first leading away into captivity; it took place in the eighth year of Nebuchadrezzar's reign (2 Kgs. xxiv. 12), i.e. 597 B.C. As it is important to remember the details of this first deportation the passage describing it must be quoted in full:

'And he carried away all Jerusalem, and all the princes, and all the mighty men of valour, even ten thousand captives, and all the craftsmen and the smiths; none remained, save the poorest sort of the people of the land. And he carried away Jehoiachin to Babylon; and the king's mother, and the king's wives, and his officers, and the chief men of the land, carried he into captivity from Jerusalem to Babylon. And all the men of might, even seven thousand, and the craftsmen and the smiths a thousand, all of them strong and apt for war, even them the king of Babylon brought captive to Babylon' (2 Kgs. xxiv. 14-16).

It will be noticed that there is some repetition in this passage; but whether this is due to the fusion of two sources, or whether the original account has been added to by a later editor, is a question difficult to decide. Two points, at any rate, emerge; the number of those led away is comparatively small;¹ and the statement that only the 'poorest sort of the people of the land' remained is hardly compatible with what is said in 2 Kgs. xxv. 18, 19, where mention is made of a number of important offices, requiring ability and experience which cannot well have been filled by illiterate peasants; see also 2 Kgs. xxv. 23 ff. True, this is eleven years later; but, even so, the poorest sort of the people could not have been trained for the highest ecclesiastical, civil, and military posts within the space of even eleven years.² The

¹ In Jer. lli. 28 the number is given as three thousand and twenty-three.

² It is noteworthy that no mention is made of the priests, whereas at the second deportation the priests are the first to be referred to among those carried away (2 Kgs. xxv. 18; cp. Jer. xxix. 3).

statement about the social status of the deported and those left behind must, therefore, be regarded as somewhat exaggerated.

The untoward fate of Jehoiachin is twice referred to by Jeremiah: 'Say to the king and to the queen-mother, Humble yourselves and sit down; for from your heads is come down the crown of your pride' (Jer. xiii. 18); and again in xxii. 28: 'Is he an image despised and broken, this man Coniah? Is he a vessel wherein is no pleasure? Wherefore was he cast out, hurled forth into a land that he knew not?'¹

In Babylon he was thrown into prison, where he remained for thirty-seven years or more; then he was released by Evil-Merodach, Nebuchadrezzar's son and successor, in 562 B.C., and kindly treated for the rest of his days (2 Kgs. xxv. 27-30, Jer. lii. 31-4).

On the vacant Judæan throne Nebuchadrezzar placed Mat-taniah, one of the exiles; he was another son of Josiah,² and therefore the uncle of Jehoiachin. After having made him take the oath of allegiance Nebuchadrezzar sent him back to Jerusalem, having changed his name to Zedekiah (2 Kgs. xxiv. 17, Ezek. xvii. 13). He, too, was a very young man, twenty-one years of age, only three years older than his deposed nephew.

Leaving Zedekiah, however, for the moment, it is necessary to follow the exiles, for in the history of the next few years there was a mutual reaction between the Jews in exile and those in the homeland.

We have seen that foremost among the exiles of this first deportation was the Jewish king, Jehoiachin; this fact, as we shall see, was one which profoundly affected those first exiles. There were some other factors in the situation which were of great importance; the Jewish State was still in existence, and, more important, Zion and the Temple of Yahweh stood untouched and secure; as long as that was the case Yahweh would not forsake His people; the Temple, the dwelling-place of Yahweh, was the guarantee of His presence among His chosen people. This being so, what reason was there that the exiles should acquiesce in the fate that had overtaken them? Had we more knowledge about the internal affairs of the Babylonian empire at this time, it is quite possible that we should see in some unrest in the land a contributory cause for the exiles to

¹ The Hebrew of this quotation has been emended on the basis of the Septuagint.

² 1 Chron. iii. 15.

take hope. It is, however, quite possible that something of this kind is referred to in Jer. xlix. 34-8, though there is no mention of it in any Babylonian source so far discovered. The words profess to have been uttered at the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah: 'Thus saith Yahweh of hosts, Behold, I will break the bow of Elam, the chief of their might. And upon Elam will I bring the four winds from the four quarters of heaven, and will scatter them towards all those winds; and there shall be no nation whither the outcasts of Elam shall not come. And I will cause Elam to be dismayed before their enemies. . . .' It might, indeed, be urged that it is difficult to understand how Jeremiah should have any knowledge of what was going on in this far distant land to the south-east of Mesopotamia on the borders of the Persian Gulf; but it requires no great stretch of imagination to suppose that it may have come to him through the exiles, especially if they thought that Elam was a menace to the Babylonian empire. But even if the section is not Jeremiah's it must reflect something that had actually occurred, otherwise its existence is difficult to account for. The revolt of such a country as Elam, though quelled, may well at the outset have aroused hopes among the Jewish exiles.

In any case, the recent downfall of the great Assyrian empire had proved that no nation was strong enough to withstand the will of Yahweh. And, to crown all, their own king Jehoiachin was in their midst; his being in prison was a small matter; release would be immediate when the expected intervention of Yahweh occurred, and with Jehoiachin at their head they would triumphantly return to their own land. Whether the similar expectation in Jerusalem had been inspired by messages from the exiles, or whether there was a party in Jerusalem which for other reasons counted on Jehoiachin's return, cannot be said for certain; but it is of great interest to find that Jeremiah records the following:

'And it came to pass the same year, in the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah king of Judah, in the fourth year, in the fifth month, that Hananiah the son of Azzur the prophet, which was of Gibeon, spake unto me in the house of Yahweh, in the presence of the priests and of all the people, saying, Thus speaketh Yahweh of hosts, the God of Israel, saying, I have broken the yoke of the king of Babylon. Within two full years will I bring again into this place all the vessels of Yahweh's house, which Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon, took

away from this place, and carried them to Babylon; and I will bring again to this place Jeconiah, the son of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, with all the captives of Judah, that went to Babylon, saith Yahweh; for I will break the yoke of the king of Babylon' (Jer. xxviii. 1-4).

Jeremiah vehemently combated the hopes voiced by this prophet Hananiah (Jer. xxviii. 5-9, 12-17), and to this period belongs also xxii. 29, 30: 'O land, land, land, hear the word of Yahweh. Thus saith Yahweh, Write ye this man childless, a man that shall not prosper in his days; for no man of his seed shall prosper, sitting on the throne of David, and ruling any more in Judah'; the reference is to Jehoiachin.

But Jeremiah did more; in order to counteract, if possible, the present temper of the people in his own land, he wrote a letter to 'the residue of the elders of the captivity, and to the priests, and to the prophets, and to all the people, whom Nebuchadrezzar had carried away captive from Jerusalem to Babylon' (Jer. xxix. 1). In this letter he adjures his hearers to reconcile themselves to their lot by settling down permanently; implying thereby, of course, that there is not the slightest prospect of their return at present; the prophets and diviners among them had held out false hopes; but seventy years, he says, was to be the duration of the period of exile (cp. verse 28); the final words imply a rebuke because the exiles had claimed that Yahweh had raised up prophets for them in Babylon.¹ As yet Ezekiel had not come forward; his ministry did not begin until the fifth year of Jehoiachin's captivity (Ezek. i. 2).

This letter was carried by messengers sent by Zedekiah, and was delivered in the first instance to Nebuchadrezzar himself (Jer. xxix. 3); this was without doubt done with Jeremiah's full approval; indeed, the words it contained about seeking the peace of the city of Babylon, and praying to Yahweh for it (verse 7), may well have been primarily intended for Nebuchadrezzar to see; he would thus know that the king he had nominated (i.e. Zedekiah) was, at any rate, not responsible for the movement on foot. In fact, there was every reason why Zedekiah should discountenance it, for he had nothing to gain from this design of reinstating his predecessor on the throne. On the other hand, it is evident that the reply to Jeremiah's

¹ This letter is contained in Jer. xxix. 4-15; verses 16-20 are a later addition, and do not occur in the Septuagint.

letter would have been dispatched without the knowledge of the Babylonian authorities. It is worthy of note that it was sent neither to Jeremiah nor to Zedekiah, but to Zephaniah the priest, who was bidden to imprison Jeremiah for having written his letter (xxix. 24-6); however, beyond reading the letter to Jeremiah no further action was taken. This points to fear on the part of the priesthood of molesting Jeremiah rather than to any feeling of friendship for him; for Jeremiah had the king on his side as well as those who were sufficiently far-seeing to realize the folly of an anti-Babylonian policy.

The whole movement evidently proved abortive, for nothing further is said about it.

But very soon after this Zedekiah was confronted with another difficulty, though in this case there is nothing to show that the exiles had anything to do with it. A coalition had been formed by some of the neighbouring rulers with the object of concerting a revolt against Babylonian suzerainty; messengers were sent to Jerusalem in order to induce Zedekiah to join the coalition. As these states were all in close proximity to Judah—Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, and Zidon—Zedekiah's position was an awkward one; if he refused there was the danger of retaliation from enemies close at hand; if he acquiesced there was the certainty of Nebuchadrezzar's vengeance. Fortunately for himself he had the strong personality of Jeremiah at hand to guide him, and the prophet's advice that he should continue to submit to the Babylonian yoke was followed (Jer. xxvii. 1-4). Nor did any adverse action on the part of the revolting states ensue. But, apparently, news of what had been taking place reached the ears of Nebuchadrezzar, for Zedekiah was either summoned to Babylon, or went on his own initiative, to explain matters (Jer. li. 59); thus the incident was closed.

These events happened, according to the Old Testament record, in the fourth year of the reign of Zedekiah (Jer. xxvii. 1, cp. xxviii. 1, li. 59), i.e. 593 B.C. For the next three years we have no information of what was going on in Judah. But in 590 B.C. the Egyptian king, Psammeticus II, undertook an expedition into Palestine; of the purpose of this expedition, against whom it was undertaken, and of what the result was, we know nothing; it is referred to quite incidentally in a papyrus discovered at Hibeh, on the right bank of the Nile, in 1898.¹ But there can

¹ Published by F. Ll. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands*.
3874.2

be little doubt that it was an attempt on the part of the Pharaoh to gain a footing once more in Palestine; that it failed is certain; but it prepared the way for the more serious attempt two years later which, while temporarily successful, brought no lasting benefit to Egypt. This was under Psammeticus' successor, Apries, or Hophra as he is called in Jer. xlv. 30, who came to the throne in 588 B.C. His first act as king was to invade Palestine. Doubtless he would have done so in any case, as his predecessors Psammeticus¹ and Pharaoh-Necho had done; but the time was especially opportune, for Zedekiah, probably not on his own initiative, but overborne by the pro-Egyptian party at court, was making overtures, as may be gathered from Ezek. xvii. 15, where it is said that Zedekiah rebelled against the king of Babylon 'in sending his ambassadors into Egypt that they might give horses and much people'. As will be seen by the passage to be quoted (Ezek. xxi), Zedekiah's was not the only vassal-state to revolt at this time; the Ammonites, probably also influenced by Egypt, likewise revolted.

The Egyptian party in Jerusalem welcomed Hophra as their saviour. This was, therefore, not merely a question of the revolts of petty vassal states, but a menace on the part of the traditional claimant for Palestine, using these smaller states as pawns.

Nebuchadrezzar could not delay. A graphic symbolic picture is drawn in Ezek. xxi. 18 ff. (Hebr. 23 ff.) of his advance:

'... Also, thou son of man, appoint thee two ways, that the sword of the king of Babylon may come; they twain shall come forth out of one land; and set up a sign-post at the head of the way to each city,² for the sword to come against Rabbah of the children of Ammon, and against Judah and Jerusalem in the midst of her.³ For the king of Babylon stood at the parting of the way, at the head of the two ways, to use divination;⁴ he shook the arrows to and fro, he consulted the teraphim, he looked in the liver. In his right hand was the lot against³ Jerusalem . . .'

The prophet pictures the arrival of Nebuchadrezzar at the place, probably Riblah, where the roads diverge; there are two rebel peoples whom he has come to chastise, the Jews and

Library, iii, Manchester (1909); see also, Grenfell and Hunt, *The Hibeh Papyri*, i (1906); Alt, in the *Zeitschrift für die A. T. Wissenschaft*, xxx. 268-97 (1910).

¹ Herodotus, ii. 157.

² Emending the Hebrew text: *וַיָּד בְּרֹאשׁ דְּרָגָה עַד בְּרֹאשׁ דְּרָגָה עַד הַשָּׁמַיִם*, the repetition of the words is distributive.

³ Following the Septuagint.

⁴ i.e. to consult the oracle.

the Ammonites; the roads to these lands run respectively to the right along the coast line, and to the left, east of Jordan; which of the two peoples is to be punished first, and therefore which road shall he take? In accordance with immemorial custom the deity is consulted; and to make sure three processes are employed, belomancy, hepatoscopy, and the lot cast before the *teraphim*. Jerusalem is designated. The Ammonites, like the Moabites, had been on the side of Nebuchadrezzar in 602 B.C. (2 Kgs. xxiv. 2), but against him in 593 B.C. (Jer. xxvii. 3); they are probably mentioned here as being the northernmost and therefore the first to receive the blow,¹ which, however, so far as we know, never fell.² The whole picture is intended to indicate to the exiles the imminent fall of Jerusalem.

In 588 B.C., then, Nebuchadrezzar set up his head-quarters in Riblah, on the Orontes (2 Kgs. xxv. 6, 20; Jer. xxxix. 5, lii. 9, 26, 27); then the Biblical record says: 'And it came to pass in the ninth year of his (Zedekiah's) reign, in the tenth month, in the tenth day of the month, that Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon came, he and all his army, against Jerusalem and encamped against it; and they built forts against it round about' (2 Kgs. xxv. 1; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 17 ff.; Jer. xxxix. 1, lii. 4). In the narrative of the book of *Kings* attention is concentrated upon Jerusalem; but though the main objective of Nebuchadrezzar, it was not the only one, for it was the land as a whole that was to be cowed into subjection, and, though it is but a passing reference which Jeremiah gives in xxxiv. 7, it is significant enough when he says that the Babylonian army fought against 'all the cities of Judah that were left, against Lachish and against Azekah;³ for these alone remained of the cities of Judah as fenced cities'. What happened to these two last strongholds is not recorded, but can easily be imagined with the fate of Jerusalem before us. For the present, however, Jerusalem was holding out, though it is clear that Zedekiah himself was beginning to have misgivings as to the final outcome. There is a pathetic touch in his message to Jeremiah: 'Inquire, I pray

¹ But see also Jer. xl. 13, 14, where it is told how they commissioned Ishmael to murder Gedaliah, Nebuchadrezzar's nominee for the Governorship; they would appear, therefore, to have been particularly anti-Babylonian. Edom, on the other hand, had shown bitter hostility to Judah (see Ezek. xxv. 12, xxxv. 7, 10 ff.).

² Unless we are to see a reference to this in Jer. xlix. 1-6.

³ Lachish lay close to the Philistine border, Azekah (probably) about half-way between Lachish and Jerusalem, in the Judaean hill-country.

thee, of Yahweh for us; for Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon maketh war against us; peradventure Yahweh will deal with us according to all his wondrous works, that he may go up from us' (Jer. xxi. 2). The prophet has no word of comfort; much the contrary; he tells the king plainly that God will deliver the city into the hands of Nebuchadrezzar (xxi. 4-7). Then an event happened which seemed to falsify the prophet's gloomy forebodings; the besieging army, owing to the advance of the Egyptians under Apries, was forced to withdraw (Jer. xxxvii. 5, 11); the pro-Egyptian party believed that deliverance had come. But with a clearer insight into the character of Nebuchadrezzar, Jeremiah knew that this was merely a temporary respite: 'Behold, Pharaoh's army, which is come forth to help you, shall return to Egypt unto their own land. And the Chaldaeans shall come again, and fight against this city; and they shall take it, and burn it with fire' (xxxvii. 7, 8; this is echoed in Ezek. xxx. 21); and he urged surrender, as being the wisest course, again and again (cp. Jer. xxi. 8-10, xxxviii. 2), though he had to suffer bitterly for doing so (see xxxviii. 6). Nothing is recorded as to what happened to induce the Egyptian army to withdraw again, unless there is intended to be a reference to a battle in which it was worsted, in Ezek. xxx. 21; but that its stay was of short duration, two or three months at the most, is shown by the sequel. Weakened by famine and pestilence the Jerusalem garrison was unable to keep up the defence of the city; and finally, on the ninth day of the fourth month of the eleventh year of Zedekiah's reign, a breach was made in the walls (2 Kgs. xxv. 3, 4; Jer. xxxix. 2); the siege had lasted a year and a half (586 B.C.). Zedekiah and his army attempted an escape by night; but he became separated from his soldiers and was captured in the plains of Jericho; so that he had not proceeded very far.¹ He was first taken to Nebuchadrezzar's head-quarters at Riblah; his sons were slain before his eyes, many of the royal officials being also put to death. Zedekiah himself was then blinded, put in fetters, and carried off to Babylon, where he died in prison (Jer. xxxix. 1-7, cp. xxxiv. 5, lii, 24-6).² Thus were the words of Ezekiel fulfilled:

¹ The part which the Edomites took at the fall of Jerusalem is referred to in Obad. 11, 12.

² The severity of the punishment was doubtless due largely to the fact that Zedekiah had broken his oath of fealty to Nebuchadrezzar (see Ezek. xvii. 12-21).

'My net will I spread upon him, and he shall be taken in my snare; and I will bring him to Babylon to the land of the Chaldeans; yet shall he not see it; though he shall die there' (Ezek. xii. 13).

It was a tragic end to a short life of perplexities and perpetual unrest. Zedekiah should not be too hardly judged. True, he had the strong and wise personality of Jeremiah at his side; but there were powerful counter-influences, and his youthful age and consequent inexperience must be taken into account. That he was a man of weak character, unstable, and easily swayed, does not admit of doubt; but he lived in a political whirlpool which would have tried hard the capabilities of a stronger personality; a movement among the exiles, fostered among his own entourage, to replace his predecessor on the throne, involving an act of disloyalty to the suzerain, placed him in a false position at the very beginning of his reign. No sooner had this movement subsided than a coalition among the surrounding states sought to force him into rebellion against Nebuchadrezzar, again making his position very difficult; and then, to crown all, there came the incessant intrigues of the pro-Egyptian party. Nor must it be forgotten that his manifest attachment to and respect for Jeremiah, who was anything but a *persona grata* in court circles, must have been a constant source of friction between the king and his officials. All things considered, this poor king must be pitied rather than blamed.

But to return: a month after the fall of Jerusalem, Nebuzaradan, the Babylonian commander-in-chief, came and broke down the walls, and severely damaged the temple, burning both it and the royal palace, together with all the larger houses (2 Kgs. xxv. 8-10); everything of value was carried off. The second deportation then took place: 'And the residue of the people that were left in the city, and those that fell away, that fell to the king of Babylon, and the residue of the multitude, did Nebuzaradan the captain of the guard carry away captive. But the captain of the guard left of the poorest of the land to be vine-dressers and husbandmen. . . . So Judah was carried away captive out of his land' (2 Kgs. xxv. 11, 12, 21; Jer. xxxix. 9, 10; lii. 15, 16). The number of the captives is not given, but according to Jer. lii. 29, it was eight hundred and thirty-two.¹

¹ Guthe, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, pp. 255 ff. (1904), gives good grounds for

Prior to their departure to the land of exile the people were brought together at Ramah; this is incidentally mentioned in Jer. xl. 1; among the captives was Jeremiah, but he was released by Nebuzaradan; so much may undoubtedly be accepted as historical; but the further details given in xl. 2-5, and the other account of his release given in Jer. xxxix. 11-14, are rightly regarded by most scholars as unhistorical. It is attractive to believe that it was on this occasion that the well-known words in Jer. xxxi. 15 were uttered: 'A voice is heard in Ramah, lamentation, and bitter weeping, Rachel weeping for her children; she refuseth to be comforted for her children, because they are not.'

It was now necessary for Nebuchadrezzar to make arrangements for the administration of the country. Egypt was, it is true, crippled for the time being, but the Palestinian bulwark was an extremely useful safeguard against possible activities from that quarter, while offering an advantageous stepping-stone should circumstances favour an attack on Egypt. The policy of putting a king on the throne had failed; now Nebuchadrezzar determined to try a humbler official. It showed a conciliatory attitude that he did not appoint a Babylonian governor,¹ but, instead, a Jew whom he had reason to trust—Gedaliah, the son of Ahikam. As the son of a man devoted to Jeremiah and whose life he had once saved (Jer. xxvi. 24), Gedaliah would reasonably be regarded as likely to take a sane view of the situation and remain a loyal servant to his overlord; nor was this expectation disappointed. It is also to be noted that Nebuchadrezzar, unlike the Assyrian king in 721 B.C. (2 Kgs. xvii. 24, Ezra iv. 2), did not bring in aliens to take the place of the exiles among the native population.

Gedaliah set up his head-quarters at Mizpah, about five miles to the north-west of Jerusalem; to him Jeremiah came and with him he remained (Jer. xl. 6). He was soon followed by those who had probably been commanders of garrisons stationed in different cities (see verse 10). They were courteously received

estimating the number of exiles as a quarter of the population of the land, according to the 2 Kgs. account; an eighth, according to that of Jeremiah; he believes the latter to be the more likely. It must be remembered that the numbers in the Old Testament refer to men only; they must be multiplied at least three or four times to get an approximate number which is to include women and children.

¹ Unlike the Assyrian kings who appointed Assyrian governors over conquered territories.

by Gedaliah, who gave them admirable advice: 'Fear not to serve the Chaldeans; dwell in the land and serve the king of Babylon, and it shall be well with you. As for me, Behold, I will dwell at Mizpah, to stand before the Chaldeans, which shall come unto us;¹ but ye, gather ye wine and summer fruits and oil, and put them in your vessels, and dwell in your cities that ye have taken'² (Jer. xl. 9, 10). Many fugitives who had fled into the surrounding countries at the approach of the Babylonian army also came to him; and all, following his advice, resumed the agricultural life to which they had been accustomed (Jer. xl. 11, 12). It looked, therefore, as though a period of peace and quietude had set in under the governorship of Gedaliah; and such would doubtless have been the case but for a cruel act of treachery which cut him off only too soon.

Among the captains mentioned as coming to Gedaliah on his appointment to the governorship were Ishmael the son of Nethaniah and Johanan the son of Kareah. The former was of the seed royal. The narrative tells of how Johanan, with the other captains, brought a report to Gedaliah to the effect that Baalis, the king of Ammon, had persuaded Ishmael to assassinate him (i.e. the governor). Had we more details it is probable that we should find that the initiative had been taken by Ishmael. As a member of the royal family he would naturally feel that he had a prior right to the governorship, if not to a re-established throne; and knowing the feeling of the Ammonites towards Nebuchadrezzar (see Jer. xxvii. 3), it is reasonable to suppose that a pact was made whereby Baalis would support Ishmael in the event of the latter getting Gedaliah out of the way. Be this as it may, the design upon Gedaliah's life became known to Johanan, who came to warn him. In his feelings of loyalty to Gedaliah he went farther and offered to kill Ishmael rather than that Gedaliah's life should be endangered. This the governor would not hear of; indeed, he regarded the whole story as a trumped-up affair, and accused Johanan of maligning Ishmael.

Soon after, however, Ishmael, with a small following, came to visit Gedaliah; they were received with hospitality; but during

¹ The reference is presumably to the bodyguard of Chaldean soldiers mentioned in Jer. xli. 3.

² The Hebrew word can equally well mean 'to hold' or 'occupy', as in Jer. xlix. 16.

the meal which followed Ishmael and his men suddenly fell upon Gedaliah and killed him; the Jewish soldiers in attendance as well as the Chaldaean bodyguard were likewise put to the sword (Jer. xl. 13-xli. 3).¹ He then gathered together the inhabitants of Mizpah, and compelled them to accompany him on his return to the king of Ammon. But Johanan and his followers, having got wind of what had occurred, pursued him. Encumbered with his prisoners Ishmael could not move quickly, and it was but a very short distance that they had covered² before Johanan was seen following; the crowd of prisoners immediately rushed back to their deliverer; but Ishmael, with a handful of his followers, managed to escape and reach Ammon; this is the last that is heard of him.

Johanan, with his followers and the fugitives he had rescued, came to Bethlehem, or near by, preparatory to a flight into Egypt; for he feared that he and his companions would be accused of the murder of Gedaliah, and that the wrath of Nebuchadrezzar would be vented on them.³ But before taking this step Johanan felt it would be well to consult Jeremiah; so the prophet was asked to inquire of the Lord for guidance. He tells them that they are to remain in the land and give up the idea of emigrating to Egypt. But Johanan had evidently made up his mind beforehand, for he says that not only will he and his people go to Egypt, but that the prophet himself must go with them. In spite of Jeremiah's strong protests this is what takes place. From what is said at the beginning of Jer. xlv, it may be gathered that the object of Johanan was to join one of the Jewish communities already settled in Egypt. These Jewish settlements must have existed for some time previously, for they were far apart, and situated in each part of Egypt; Tahpanhes, or Daphnae,⁴ lay on the eastern Delta, and was therefore, like Migdol, in northern Egypt; Noph, i.e. Memphis, was in central

¹ In memory of this an annual fast was kept on the third day of the seventh month (Zech. vii. 5).

² The 'great waters that are in Gibeon' (Jer. xli. 13) lay a short distance to the north-east of Mizpah.

³ It is possible that the third deportation, mentioned in Jer. lli. 30, when more exiles were led away, was connected with the murder of Gedaliah; though if the date given, the twenty-third year of Nebuchadrezzar, i.e. 581 B.C., is correct, this is improbable; but see vol. i, p. 443.

⁴ The camp buildings of Daphnae 'of which remains still exist, are known as Kasr Bint el-Yehudi, "the castle of the Jew's daughter"' (*Camb. Anc. Hist.* iv. 107 [1026]).

Egypt, and Pathros in southern Egypt. The settlements were thus dotted over a wide area. Johanan and his party settled in Tahpanhes (Jer. xliii. 7-9).

In Palestine itself a considerable population was still left, for, as we have seen, the number of exiles on each occasion was a comparatively small one. But the centre of interest is now in Babylonia, and to the Jews there we must next turn our attention.

Chapter IV

THE JEWS IN BABYLONIA

SUMMARY

[There are good grounds for believing that the lot of the Jewish exiles in Babylonia was far from being a hard one. Jeremiah's letter to them presupposes conditions the reverse of onerous. They were settled in various districts, and much freedom of intercourse was accorded them. Many continued to lead the agricultural life to which they had been accustomed in their own land; others followed commercial pursuits. It would also appear from certain passages in the book of *Ezekiel* that the ancient position of the elders of the people was recognized; from this it would follow that families and clans lived together much in the same way as had been the case in Palestine; this would have been a potent means of preserving the sense of nationality and of keeping up religious beliefs and traditions.

There are, further, some grounds for believing that intercourse took place between the Jewish exiles and the descendants of the Israelites who had been deported in 721 B.C. and settled down in districts at no great distance from those in which the Jewish exiles were now resident.

Events of historical importance during this period, which may well have affected the outlook of the Jewish exiles from different points of view, were the siege of Tyre, which lasted for thirteen years; the distractions in Egypt caused by a change of dynasty; Nebuchadrezzar's campaign against Egypt in 568 B.C.; the death of Nebuchadrezzar in 562 B.C.; the revolution which followed, together with the gradual signs of dissolution in the empire; and, finally, the appearance of the dominating figure of Cyrus in 550 B.C. and onwards. The feelings and expectations aroused by this great conqueror are graphically expressed by Deutero-Isaiah.]

FROM the nature of the case there cannot be much history to record of the Jews during the Exile. Some interesting data regarding their conditions of life during these years are to be gathered, and these we shall deal with; but the half-century or so of their sojourn in Babylonia is far more important and rich in content for the history and development of their religion¹ than for history in the ordinary sense.

There is every reason to believe that Nebuchadrezzar's enlightened policy in regard to Palestine was similarly exhibited in his treatment of the exiles.

¹ This is dealt with in the present writers' *Hebrew Religion: its Origin and Development*, part iii, chaps. i-v (1930).

Reference has already been made to Jeremiah's letter in which he contemplates a prolonged term of exile and gives advice to the people accordingly. This advice was based on a knowledge of the conditions under which the exiles were living. His words are: 'Build ye houses, and dwell in them, and plant gardens, and eat the fruit of them; take ye wives and beget sons and daughters; and take wives for your sons, and give your daughters to husbands, that they may bear sons and daughters; and multiply ye there, and be not diminished' (Jer. xxix. 5-7).

The intercourse between Babylonia and Palestine, to which various indications in the books of *Jeremiah* and *Ezekiel* witness, would have been the means of acquainting the prophet with the conditions of life in the Exile; he, therefore, knew that the exiles were in a position to carry out his instructions. Much freedom must have been permitted for them to be able to build houses and to live on the product of their labour. The advice to give their sons and daughters in marriage would, of course, apply only to marriage with members of their own race; and this again implies much freedom of intercourse amongst themselves.

That there were various settlements of the Jews in different localities is proved by the names of some of them which have been preserved; thus, we have mention of a settlement by the river Chebar¹ (Ezek. i. 1, 3), which is spoken of again in Ezek. iii. 15 under the name Tell Abib; in Ezra ii. 59 two other places are mentioned, Tell Charsa and Tell Melach, and in viii. 15 Ahava occurs as a place-name, though in viii. 21 it is spoken of as a river; once more, in viii. 17, Casiphia, another place-name, is mentioned. The number of such settlements and the area over which they were scattered there are no means of knowing; the names of the few that occur, however, suggest that there were probably others.

While it can hardly be doubted that a certain number of the exiles received cruel treatment and were put to forced labour (see, e.g. Isa. xlii. 22, li. 23), there are, on the other hand, sufficient grounds for believing that, in general, they were permitted to follow their own inclinations in earning their livelihood. This seems clear from Jeremiah's letter; but there are

¹ The 'river Chebar' is equivalent to *Nar Kabari*, 'the great canal'; it left the Euphrates at Babylon, passed through the city of Nippur, and then re-entered the Euphrates. The name occurs on contract tablets found on the site of Nippur (Hölscher, *op. cit.*, p. 7).

other indications of the same thing. Those living in settlements in country districts will have followed the agricultural life to which they had been accustomed in their own land; the names of one or two of the places of settlement point to this. Thus, Tell Abib means 'the hill of the ears of corn', Tell Charsa means 'the hill of the plough', while conceivably Tell Melach means 'the barren hill' (cp. the barren, or salt, land, *'eretz mēlāchah* in Jer. xvii. 6).

Indications are also forthcoming that some of the exiles had occupations of another kind. In his letter Jeremiah bids those to whom he is writing seek the peace of the city whither they had been carried away. Some of the exiles were thus clearly living in cities. And, of course, many of them had been accustomed to city-life in their own land; court officials and others, military officers, traders, and artisans of various kinds, who had never followed agricultural pursuits, would naturally have sought to settle down in cities, since freedom of choice was accorded them.

Babylon had been a centre of trade from much earlier times; Ezekiel refers to it as 'a city of merchants' (xvii. 4). That some of the exiles should have seized the opportunity of trading, seeing that they were allowed freedom of movement, is in itself probable; that they actually did so is proved by the wealth they amassed in course of time. We read, for example in Ezra ii. 68, 69, that 'some of the heads of the fathers' houses, when they came to the house of Yahweh which is in Jerusalem,¹ offered willingly for the house of God to set it in its place; they gave after their ability into the treasury of the work three score and one thousand darics of gold, and five thousand pound (*maneh* or *mina*) of silver, and one hundred priests' garments'. Even allowing for some exaggeration;² it is clear that there must have been a number of the exiles possessing considerable wealth by the end of the Exile, and this must have taken years to acquire.

Possessions of another kind are enumerated in Ezra ii. 64-7, where it is said in reference to the returned exiles: 'The whole congregation together was forty and two thousand, three hundred and three score, besides their menservants and their maid-

¹ The Chronicler assumes that they returned to Palestine; but it is more probable that the well-to-do remained for the most part in Babylonia, and sent gifts, cp. Zech. vi. 9-14.

² A daric was equivalent to £1 1s. 6d.; a pound or *mina* was worth about £6 16s. 8d. of our money, making altogether something like £100,000.

servants (i.e. slaves), of whom there were seven thousand three hundred and thirty-seven; and they had two hundred singing men and singing women. Their horses were seven hundred and thirty-six, their mules two hundred and forty-five; their camels, four hundred and thirty-five; their asses, six thousand and seven hundred and twenty.¹

Success in agriculture would account for much of this; but we have documentary evidence to show that commercial pursuits and trading existed among the exiles, and the gains from these would be largely represented by money. During the excavations undertaken by the Pennsylvania University² on the site of Nippur, which was situated on the great canal (the 'river Chebar'), a large number of tablets containing business transactions were unearthed; showing that Nippur, to the south-east of Babylon, was a great mercantile centre. On many of these tablets the names of Jews occur, such as Hananiah, Gedaliah, Pedaiah, Benjamin, and others; they appear to have carried on business transactions with the leading mercantile house of the city, Murashu Sons. The tablets all belong, it is true, to a period somewhat later than the Exile, namely to the reigns of Artaxerxes I and Darius II (465-405 B.C.); but these Jews mentioned on the business documents are not likely to have been the first of their race to have carried on trade and commerce in Babylonia.

A further indication of the conditions under which the Jews lived in the land of their exile is afforded by what we read about Ezekiel; in viii. 1 of his book the prophet says: 'As I sat in my house, and the elders of Judah sat before me, the hand of the Lord fell there upon me . . .'; similarly in xiv. 1, xx. 1 ff., cp. Jer. xxix. 1; gatherings of this kind show, again, that considerable latitude was allowed to the exiles; and this is the more noteworthy because the seditious intrigues of some of the Jews, to which reference has been made above, were known to the Babylonian authorities. The mention of 'the elders of Judah' shows that their ancient position as leaders of the different communities was recognized; the disappearance of the monarchy would naturally have tended to enhance their

¹ Here again some allowance must be made for the point of view of the Chronicler who was writing long after the time with which he is dealing; the numbers of the returned exiles, as we shall see later, cannot have been as high as this.

² Hilprecht, *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, ix. 28, 76 (1898); see also Kittel, *op. cit.*, pp. 116 ff.

importance.¹ But this implies that clans and families lived together; and this is further borne out by the fact that in Ezra ii. 3 ff., 20 ff., 33, 34, there are lists of the returned exiles, and they are enumerated not only according to the heads of families, but also according to the districts in which these families had lived in Palestine prior to the Exile. Thus, there are mentioned the children of Pathah-moab, of Bethlehem, of Anathoth, of Kiriath-jearim, of Beeroth, of Ramah, of Geba, of Bethel, of Ai, of Nebo, and of Jericho, to mention only some of the better known localities; and clearly it was under such designations that the various communities were known in the land of their exile, otherwise there would have been no point in their being enumerated in this way.² Thus the conclusion is justified that in Babylonia the Jews were permitted to live together as they had done in Palestine; by this means the national sense was preserved and fostered, the conditions of life in the past were held in memory, and above all, religious traditions and customs could be kept up and practised.

This sense of national unity may possibly have been furthered in another way. Kittel points out in regard to Ezekiel's outlook, that 'not only did he in later years several times give expression to the hope that Judah would one day be raised up again to the enjoyment of full national life and be led back to the homeland again, but he ventures also to express the thought that the people of the northern kingdom, who had long since been deported to Assyria, would one day be again united with the men of Judah, and together with them take part in the Return'.³ The Judahites are graphically described in the well-known vision of the valley full of bones; and the prophet concludes his description with the words: '... O my people, I will bring you into the land of Israel⁴ ... and I will put my spirit in you and ye shall live, and I will place you in your own land ...' (Ezek. xxxvii. 12-14). The other thought, regarding those of the northern kingdom, is expressed in verses 15-28 of the same chapter, especially 21, 22: 'Behold, I will take the children of

¹ Stade, *op. cit.* ii. 4; Kittel, *op. cit.* iii. 112 ff.

² Unless we are to assume that the whole of these lists were the work of the Chronicler based on the conditions of his own time, a possibility not to be lightly set aside.

³ *Op. cit.* iii. 114.

⁴ The 'land of Israel' is used in the comprehensive sense of the promised land not in the restricted sense of the northern kingdom.

Israel¹ from among the nations whither they have gone, and will gather them on every side, and bring them into their own land; and I will make them one nation in the land, upon the mountains of Israel; and one king shall be king to them all; and they shall be no more two nations, neither shall they be divided into two kingdoms any more at all', see also Ezek. xvi. 53-8, xlvii. 13 ff., xlviii. 1-8, 23-9.² This prophecy of the reunion of Israel and Judah is one which might well be looked for in Jeremiah or Deutero-Isaiah; but Ezekiel, though not wanting in a broad outlook at times, was a very pronounced *Jewish* prophet, and also a priest of the Jerusalem Temple *par excellence*; for him to entertain this idea in view of the unfaithfulness of the kingdom of Samaria, which had been so signally punished for forsaking Yahweh, must occasion some surprise. It is not unnatural to ask whether there may not have been some particular reason for this specifically Jewish priest-prophet to take up this attitude. Kittel³ suggests such a reason which is both convincing, as well as interesting from other points of view. It is difficult to resist the conclusion, he thinks, that Ezekiel had opportunities of coming into contact with some of those northern Israelites who had been deported and settled down in districts of what had once been part of the Assyrian empire. Babylonia was in the year 721 B.C. and onwards a province of Assyria, and continued to be such as long as the Assyrian empire lasted. There is nothing to preclude the possibility, or even the likelihood, of some of the northern Israelite captives of the 721 B.C. deportation having been settled in districts in which the exiled Jews of the 597 B.C. and 586 B.C. deportations were living. And, in any case, the distance from Babylon of some of the districts in which the northern Israelites were placed was not great. In view of what we have seen to have been the leniency of the Babylonian authorities towards the Jewish exiles, there is no reason for supposing that the descendants of the earlier captives, who by this time must almost have been looked upon as nationals, would have been restricted in their movements. So that if Ezekiel had come into contact with groups of these northern Israelites, his thought and prophecy of the reunion of Israel and Judah

¹ The expression 'the children of Israel' instead of 'the house of Israel' is intended to indicate the tribal divisions.

² It is, of course, realized that some scholars, e.g. Hölscher, do not regard any of these passages as belonging to Ezekiel.

³ *Op. cit.* iii. 114 ff.

becomes quite explicable. Both were in a foreign land, they were of the same blood; in the adversity of each the prophet would see the righteous retribution of apostasy from the God of their fathers, but at the same time a means of purification; Israel, in respect of unfaithfulness to Yahweh, had been no worse than Judah (cp. Ezek. xvi. 51); surely (the prophet would have argued) when the time of rehabilitation shall have come there will be no differentiation between those who, in spite of everything that had happened, were all of the seed of Abraham.

In view of the later relationship between the returned exiles and the Samaritans what Kittel here suggests is important.

The historical events occurring in the Babylonian empire during the exilic period are not likely to have passed unnoticed by the exiles. Many of them lived in the heart of the empire, and would have been among the first to hear the news of happenings in other parts, while they were eyewitnesses of the exciting episodes which occurred from time to time in the capital itself. As we have seen, the Babylonian records do not give much information regarding historical events; but there are some which are mentioned, and in a few cases the Old Testament supplements the brief references; some mention of these is demanded.

The first was the siege of Tyre which began after the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C., and dragged out its wearisome course for thirteen years.¹ If we may judge from the attention devoted to this by Ezekiel, the exiles must have been keenly interested, at any rate during the earlier stages of the siege; satisfaction with the bold resistance of the Tyrians to the Babylonians was apparently mingled with the hope that the holding out of Tyre might by some means be of advantage to the Egyptians. This is suggested by Ezek. xxix. 17-20, where, after referring to the difficulties by which Nebuchadrezzar was confronted at Tyre, it goes on at once to say that the land of Egypt will be delivered into his hand; as though to discourage any false hopes entertained by the exiles.

Later, when at last Tyre fell in 573 B.C., the occurrence was proclaimed to the exiles by Ezekiel (xxvii. 26-36); but probably by this time interest was once again becoming more directly centred on Egypt, for with the change of dynasty there and the distractions caused thereby, the opportunity presented itself to

¹ Cf. Josephus, *Contra Ap.* i. 156.

Nebuchadrezzar of attacking the country in revenge for the trouble Apries had given. Then, again, Nebuchadrezzar's Egyptian campaign in 568 B.C. against Amasis could not fail to interest the exiles; who could tell what would be the outcome of the campaign? There was always the possibility of Babylonia being weakened by the rise of any enemy, and with this the hope of being able to return to Palestine. In this case, however, if such hopes were entertained they were soon destined to be disappointed. Though Egypt was not conquered, the Babylonian empire remained as strong as ever.

Then occurred an event of profound significance for the Jews—the death of Nebuchadrezzar, in 562 B.C.—though, as yet, they could hardly have realized that, in effect, this was the preliminary step on the path of ruin for the empire. It was in this year that, as recorded in almost identical words in 2 Kgs. xxv. 27–30, and Jer. lii. 31–4, Jehoiachin was released from prison by Nebuchadrezzar's son and successor, Evil-Merodach (Amel-Marduk). The event does not seem to have had the slightest effect upon the exiles; no word, at any rate, is recorded of this having been the case. It is small wonder that the exiles did not hope much from him at the age of fifty-three, and after thirty-five years in prison. We know from Deutero-Isaiah that there was a great longing for the return; had any such hopes centred in Jehoiachin, some echo of them would surely have come down to us; but never is there another word said about Jehoiachin. On the other hand, internal strife within the state may lead one knows not where; we can, then, well imagine the exiles watching keenly the events in Babylon during the next few years. Evil-Merodach had only been on the throne two years when he was murdered by his brother-in-law, likely enough one of the 'princes of the kings' who had been the first to enter Jerusalem when it fell, Neriglissar (Jer. xxxix. 3 'Nergal-sharezer'); the revolution against the house of Nebuchadrezzar which he led was an ominous sign of the unrest in the country. After four years he died, and was succeeded by his son Labashi-Marduk. His reign, too, was short-lived; after nine months another revolution broke out, and he was murdered; Nabonidus was proclaimed king in his stead. Thus, within six years there were four kings and two revolutions. The ferment among the exiles as they watched these signs of dissolution can well be imagined. Excitement would have risen still higher when it was learned

that a rebellion had broken out in Syria;¹ this was quelled, it is true, but there was unrest in other parts of the empire. All these events were, however, overshadowed when, in 550 B.C. Cyrus appeared as a conqueror.

If, so far, the state of feeling of the exiles has been only a matter of inference, though highly probable inference, we have now definite utterances to go upon, for the heartening words of Deutero-Isaiah all belong to this time. He sees that the day of deliverance is close at hand, and cheers his fellow exiles with the words: 'Comfort ye, comfort ye, my people, saith your God, speak ye comfortably to Jerusalem, and cry unto her, that her time of service is accomplished, that her iniquity is pardoned, that she hath received of Yahweh's hand double for all her sins' (Isa. xl. 1, 2). And the instrument whereby God's purpose regarding His people is to be brought about is Cyrus: 'Who hath raised up one from the east; whom he called in righteousness to his foot? He giveth nations before him, and maketh him rule over kings . . .' (Isa. xli. 2, 3). Every one knows who is meant, but presently he is mentioned by name: 'Cyrus, my shepherd,² and he shall perform all my pleasure; even saying of Jerusalem, She shall be built, and to the temple, thy foundation shall be laid. Thus saith Yahweh to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him, and I will loose the loins of kings; to open the doors before him, and the gate shall not be shut; I will go before thee, and make the rugged places plain, I will break in pieces the doors of brass, and cut in sunder the bars of iron; and I will give thee the treasures of darkness, and hidden riches of secret places, that thou mayst know that I am Yahweh, that call thee by thy name, even the God of Israel' (Isa. xlv. 28-xlv. 3; see also xlvi. 10, 11).

Such and other utterances are not only anticipations, they express the absolute conviction that the coming events were being controlled by God. And the time of waiting for their fruition was not long; the fall of Babylon took place in 538 B.C., and in the next year the edict permitting the return of the exiles to Palestine was issued.

¹ See above, p. 14.

² Or 'friend'.

Chapter V

THE JEWS IN PALESTINE DURING THE EXILE

SUMMARY

[We have no record as to what steps were taken to administer the land after the murder of Gedaliah; but as a Babylonian province it must have been placed under the charge of a governor. Whether this governor was a Jew or of some other nationality must remain an open question. That a small Babylonian force was stationed in the land may be taken for granted. But in view of the smallness of this force and owing to the fact that the majority of Jewish soldiers had been deported, it is not surprising that attacks by the surrounding peoples were made upon the weakened country. Thus, granting that we are right in assigning the Biblical passages in question to this period, there were attacks made by the Ammonites, Moabites, Edomites, and the Philistines. It would also appear that some Edomite clans from the south of Judah pushed northwards and settled down in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem where they remained permanently and intermixed with the Jews living there. Thus, during the decades following immediately after the fall of Jerusalem the Jews who had been left in the land suffered from the inroads of neighbouring peoples, on the one hand, while, on the other, their numbers were increased by the influx of Edomite clans with whom they were racially connected.]

It is exceedingly probable that in spite of its more or less ruined condition Jerusalem continued to be the religious centre. But from all accounts the religious and moral condition of the people left in the land was a melancholy one.

So far as the Babylonian administration of the land was concerned there is no reason to believe that the Palestinian Jews, any more than their exiled brethren in Babylonia, were subjected to hardship.

The appearance of Cyrus as conqueror called forth hope once more on the part of some seers in the homeland that with the fall of Babylon a brighter future for the nation might be looked for. Certain passages from books of the Old Testament reflect the feelings of hopefulness among the Palestinian Jews aroused by the conquests of Cyrus.]

I. THE JEWS AND THEIR NEIGHBOURS

SINCE Judaea was a Babylonian province it is obvious that it would be governed by the suzerain power much on the same lines as other conquered provinces were. When, therefore, Gedaliah, the governor appointed by Nebuchadrezzar, had

been murdered, some other governor must, presumably, have been appointed in his place. Hardly anything, however, is told us about this directly,¹ so that we can only draw inferences. Somewhat later we read of Sanballat as governor of Samaria; and of Nehemiah as governor of Judaea; in each case a man is appointed who is not a Babylonian,² just as in the case of Gedaliah. This would justifiably lead us to infer that the tradition was to appoint as governor one who was in some way connected with the province in question. In this case the new governor appointed in Gedaliah's place would be likely to have been a Judaeon.

On the other hand, however, the special circumstances of his murder—i.e. that it was perpetrated by a scion of the Jewish royal family, who presumably aspired to the throne—may well have suggested the advisability of appointing a Babylonian official to the governorship of the province.

A governor there must, in any case, have been; and he would need subordinate officials in the various districts for administrative purposes, for collecting taxes, and for looking after the districts generally.³

But it is certain that the weakened state of Judaea consequent upon the deportation of so many of those able to bear arms must, at any rate during the decade or so after the fall of Jerusalem, have left the country in a somewhat unprotected state. No doubt a Babylonian garrison would have been left in the land, as had been the case under Gedaliah's governorship, but the number of soldiers is not likely to have been large in a weakened district such as Judaea was, and their primary duty was to up-

¹ See Neh. v. 15, where Nehemiah contrasts his treatment of the people with that of the 'former governors'.

² It is true that Sanballat is a Babylonian name (= Sin-uballit), but it was customary for a foreign name to be adopted in deference to the suzerain power (cp. Joseph's Egyptian name, Zaphenath-paneah, Gen. xli. 45). We learn, moreover, from one of the Aramaic papyri (see Additional Note C, p. 164) that Sanballat's two sons were Delaiah and Shelemiah, two thoroughly Jewish names; it is extremely unlikely that a Babylonian would give his sons Jewish names. Sachau suggests that Sanballat's real name was Shelemiah, since, according to a well-recognized principle, it was the custom for an eldest son to take the name of his grandfather, while the second took the name of his father (see Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus einer jüdischen Militär-Kolonie zu Elephantine*, p. 5 (1911)).

³ For the conditions in pre-exilic times, which are not likely to have been without some influence in later times, see Kurt Galling, 'Die Israelitische Staatsverfassung'... in *Der alte Orient*, Band 28, Heft. 3, 4, pp. 39 ff. (1929).

hold the authority of the king of Babylon; so that the kind of attacks to which the country was now subjected would not have called for the interference of the Babylonian military; it is probable that these attacks would have been regarded by them rather in the nature of internal squabbles than as anything likely to jeopardize the integrity of the Babylonian province. The petty kingdoms who tried to make capital out of Judaea's weakened condition were themselves vassals of the Babylonian king; and so long as these unimportant quarrels, as they would have been regarded by the Babylonians, remained local they would not be worth troubling about from the Babylonian point of view. Hence it is not difficult to understand why, in spite of the presence of Babylonian troops in the land, conflicts appear to have been frequent. It is realized that in regard to the dates of the passages to be considered in this connexion, in which these attacks on the part of the enemies of Judah are spoken of, opinions may differ; but there are good grounds for assigning the passages in question to this period, viz. the decade or so following the fall of Jerusalem.

We have seen the part which the Ammonites took in supporting Ishmael the son of Nethaniah and the enemies of Gedaliah; it must have been, in all probability, shortly after this that they took advantage of the state of confusion in Judaea to attack the land; and this would fully explain the doom pronounced against them in Jer. xlix. 1-6: ' . . . Therefore, behold, the days come, saith Yahweh, that I will cause an alarm of war to be heard against Rabbah of the children of Ammon; and it shall become a desolate heap, and her daughter(-citie)s shall be burned with fire; and then shall Israel possess them that did possess him, saith Yahweh. . . .' (see also Zeph. ii. 8-10). Similarly in Ezek. xxv. 1-7 a prophecy of doom is uttered against Ammon, and in this case the period to which the utterance belongs is quite clearly indicated: ' . . . Thus saith the Lord God, Because thou saidest, Aha, against my sanctuary, when it was profaned; and against the land of Israel, when it was made desolate; and against the house of Judah, when they went into captivity; therefore, behold, I will deliver thee to the children of the east for a possession . . . And I will make Rabbah a stable for camels, and the children of Ammon a couching place for flocks. . . . '

The Moabites evidently also thought the time propitious for

an attack on Judah, but the denunciations against her are much milder (Ezek. xxv. 8-11, Zeph. ii. 8).¹

The bitterest enemy, however, was Edom: 'Because that Edom hath dealt against the house of Judah by taking vengeance, and hath greatly offended, and revenged himself upon them; therefore thus saith the Lord God, I will stretch my hand upon Edom, and I will cut off man and beast from it; and I will make it desolate from Teman; even unto Dedan shall they fall by the sword. . . .' (Ezek. xxv. 12-14). But a fuller and more detailed oracle is contained in Ezek. xxxv. 1-15; and the contents (in part, at any rate) point more directly to the period under consideration. The ambition of Edom to possess the land of Judaea, as well as what had been the northern kingdom, and the fierce indignation felt in consequence, comes out clearly in verses 10-12: 'Because thou saidest, These two nations and these two countries shall be mine, and we will possess it [though Yahweh was there]²; therefore as I live, saith the Lord God, I will do according to thine anger, and according to thine envy which thou hast showed out of thy hatred against them. . . . And thou shalt know that I Yahweh have heard all thy blasphemies which thou hast spoken against the mountains of Israel, saying, They are desolate, they are given us to devour. . . .' The condition of the land as a result of the Babylonian devastation is again referred to in verse 15: 'Thou didst rejoice over the inheritance of the house of Israel, because it was desolate, so will I do unto thee; thou shalt be desolate, O mount Seir, and all Edom, even all of it, and they shall know that I am Yahweh'; see also Ezek. xxxvi. 1-5.³

The oracle against Tyre in Ezek. xxvi-xxviii. 19 belongs to the time immediately following the fall of Jerusalem; the prophet takes up his word against it not because it had attacked Judah, but because it had rejoiced over the downfall of the nation, and expected to profit thereby commercially: ' . . . Son of man, because that Tyre hath said against Jerusalem, Aha, she is broken that was the gate of the peoples; she is turned unto

¹ The long prophecy against Moab in Jer. xlviii consists of passages of different dates; we refrain, therefore, from assigning any of them to the particular period with which we are dealing.

² These bracketed words, in view of Ezek. viii. 12, ix. 9, where Yahweh is thought of as having forsaken the land, can hardly have come from Ezekiel himself.

³ Regarding Jer. xlix. 7-22 we are faced with the same difficulty as in Jer. xlviii (see above).

me; I shall be replenished, now that she is laid waste; therefore thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I am against thee, O Tyre . . . ' (xxvi. 2, 3).¹

Even the Philistines, who had become so insignificant, relatively, seem to have had designs on Judah (cp. the later oracle in Joel iii. 4-8 [iv. 4-8 in Hebr.]).

As already pointed out, the dates of the passages referred to or quoted cannot in most cases be indicated with certainty; but the probabilities point to the earlier half of the exilic period rather than to the later, because the presence in the west of Babylonian armies at different times during the second half of this period would have acted as a deterrent to restlessness among these smaller states; and, above all, there was the long residence at that time of Nabonidus in Tema', in Edomite territory, which can hardly have been without effect.

Restlessness of a somewhat different nature, however, must be briefly referred to. The genealogical lists in 1 Chron. ii. iv 'reflect the movement of clans of Edomite or south Palestinian affinity from the south of Judah to the district of Jerusalem, and their inclusion among the Judaeans division of the Israelite tribes. This movement, which was of immense significance, may have been due to the pressure exerted upon south Judah by Edomites; and the Edomites, in turn, were no doubt the victims of those more important movements which make the Nabataeans and other Arab tribes a new factor in the later history.'² This pressing northwards on the part of the Edomites did not take place suddenly after the catastrophe of 586 B.C., as Hölscher points out; it was slow and gradual (Obad. 13 f., Lam. iv. 21 f., Ps. cxxxvii. 7, Ezek. xxv. 12, xxxv. 5, 10, 12 ff.). Those forced northwards belonged to the clans descended from the ancient inhabitants of Judah, such as the Calebites, Jerahmeelites, and Rechabites (1 Chron. ii. iv). These subsequently attached themselves to the Jews of Jerusalem.³

It seems, therefore, to be established that during, approximately, the two decades which followed the fall of Jerusalem the Jews who were left in their land suffered, on the one hand, from the depredations of their neighbours; but that, on the other,

¹ The text in these verses is uncertain.

² S. A. Cook in the *Camb. Anc. Hist.* iii. 405 f.; see also Kittel, *op. cit.*, iii. 69 ff., and below, pp. 333, 360, 365.

³ Hölscher, *Geschichte der israelitischen und jüdischen Religion*, p. 119 (1922).

they received, through the beginnings of the influx of semi-nomads with whom they were connected racially, new blood. One fact which resulted from this was that, although there may have been some loss in man-power through petty wars, yet, upon the whole, there would, in course of time, have been an increase of population.¹ This is a fact which must be borne in mind in view of the subsequent history.

2. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS

Our main concern is general history, but in so far as the religious state of the people tends to give some insight into the conditions of the time, some reference must be made to it.

According to Jer. xl. 6-16 Gedaliah made Mizpah the administrative head-quarters of the land. But it seems clear that this was intended to be only a temporary expedient, and that Jerusalem soon became once more the centre of government. We may gather from 2 Kgs. xxv. 9 that during the sack of the city it was only the larger houses and buildings that were destroyed, so that there were likely to have been a sufficient number of dwelling-places of a humbler character for those inhabitants of the city who had not been carried away.

As the religious centre it is likely that there would have been a tendency to gravitate towards it, and this in spite of the fact that the Temple is stated to have been destroyed.² For the holy site itself still remained, and to set up an altar again would easily be accomplished. We read in Jer. xli. 5 of a number of people bringing offerings to the house of the Lord; they came from Shechem, Shiloh, and Samaria; and that priests were in Jerusalem for carrying out whatever was possible in the customary forms of worship is seen from Lam. i. 4.³ This must have been soon after the withdrawal of the main Babylonian army. It throws an interesting sidelight on the conditions of the time that these pilgrims were from the northern parts of the land.

But in other respects we get a melancholy picture both of the religious and moral state of the people at this time. Worship on the high-places and under the green trees, with the concomitant

¹ Kittel (*op. cit.*, iii. 61) reckons that there were something like 45,000 people left in the land after the final deportation; this together with natural increase and the alien influx mentioned above would, therefore, have meant a considerably increased population by the time of the Return. ² But see below, pp. 92 ff.

³ The whole of Lam. i belongs to the early years of the exilic period, and its contents show it to have been written in Jerusalem.

impure cults which were associated with this, continued as of old (Jer. vii. 17-19; Ezek. vi. 13, xxxiii. 25); the Josianic reform, with its primary object of doing away with these local sanctuaries and centralizing the worship in Jerusalem, had become a dead letter. And what is specially significant, as showing the result of contact with Babylon and the surrounding nations, is the variety of alien cults practised—Ishtar-worship (Jer. vii. 18), Tammuz-worship and other cults (Ezek. viii. 9-18), and Sun-worship (Ezek. vi. 4-6, viii. 16, see also Ezek. v. 11). The moral degradation is painfully evident from such passages as Jer. xxiii. 11-14; Ezek. v. 5-10, xxii. 1-31, xxxiii. 21-29. Some of these passages no doubt refer to conditions before the actual fall of Jerusalem, but that they will also apply to the years which succeeded is only too likely; what had become habitual in this way cannot have been quickly eradicated.

In other respects, too, the people, as might be expected, were in a sorry plight. An army does not ravage a land without leaving dire suffering in its train. Want and hunger are spoken of in Lam. i. 6: 'Her princes are become like harts that find no pasture. And they are gone without strength before their pursuer'; and again in i. 11: 'All the people sigh, they seek bread.' Despondency, so eloquently reflected in the whole of Lam. i, was inevitable. Bitterness may well have filled the hearts of many as they contemplated the desolation of fields and vineyards, cities and villages; and then there was, further, the constant reminder that they were a subject race.

After the first decade or so, however, when there had been time to recover from the effects of the Babylonian invasion, and in spite of the intermittent attacks of neighbouring enemies already mentioned, there is every reason to believe that the people settled down to a quiet, if inglorious, routine life. And this is likely to have continued as the years went on.

The little we know of Babylonian history in the west of the empire during this period gives no ground for supposing that the Jews in Palestine had anything to complain of from the suzerain power. The long drawn-out siege of Tyre, 585-572 B.C., Nebuchadrezzar's campaign against Amasis of Egypt in 568 B.C., and Nabonidus' Syrian campaign in 552 B.C., and his long stay in Tema', would doubtless have been followed with interest by the Jews; but there is no reason to suppose that they were detrimentally affected by any of these movements.

So long as the power of Babylon stood intact the Jews must have seen that acquiescence in their present state, servile though it was, could be their only course of safety.

3. THE RE-KINDLING OF HOPE

Just as among the exiles a voice of hope was raised when it was recognized that a real menace to Babylon was impending, so hope revived among these Jews in the homeland when there resounded the echo proclaiming the downfall of the oppressor; if it be asked how the happenings far away to the east and north-east could be known in Palestine, the answer is simply that in the east news does travel in a mysteriously rapid fashion; the fact is too well known to need further words. The seer cries:

As whirlwinds in the South sweep through,
It cometh from the wilderness, from a terrible land.
A hard vision is declared unto me:
The robber robbeth and the spoiler spoileth;
Go up, O Elam; besiege, O Media;
All the sighing do I bring to an end (Isa. xxi. 1, 2).

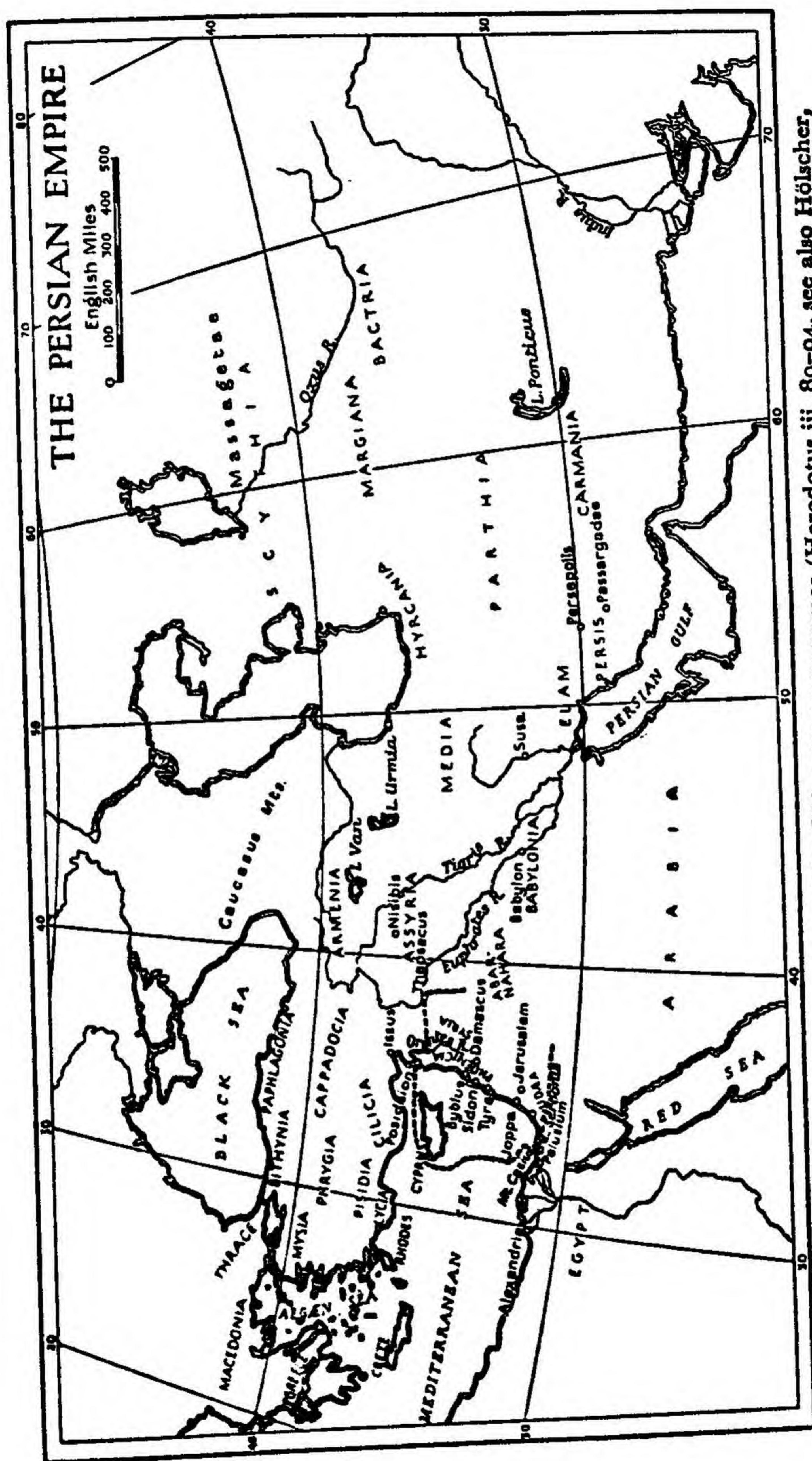
The news of Cyrus' victories had reached the ears of this seer in the homeland, for the 'South' (*Negeb*) could only be referred to by one living in Palestine; and the words must have been uttered soon after 549 B.C. when Cyrus had conquered Media. In verse 9 of the same chapter the seer continues:

. . . Babylon is fallen, is fallen;
And all the graven images of her gods are broken unto the ground.
In the prophetic certainty that Babylon's knell of doom had sounded he sees the accomplishment of it in his vision.

The important thing to notice about this seer is that, unlike many of his compatriots, he was a true champion of the worship of Yahweh; this comes out from his words in the oracle quoted where he speaks of the destruction of the gods of Babylon. His triumphant words are, therefore, prompted not so much by the thought of the overthrow of the tyrant as by the signal proof of the failure of the Babylonian gods. This shows that although the supremacy of Babylon had induced so many of the Jews in Palestine and in Babylon, as both Jeremiah and Ezekiel imply, to acknowledge the Babylonian deities, yet there were not wanting those who had continued to be true to their ancestral faith. When, therefore, the exiles returned they did not enter a land religiously barren.

BOOK I (Continued)

THE PERIOD OF THE RESTORATION



The dotted line indicates the extent of the fifth satrapy or nomos (Herodotus iii, 89-94, see also Hölischer, *Quellen und Forschungen zur alten Geschichte und Geographie*, pp. 4-6 [1903]).

Chapter VI

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE

SUMMARY

[Cyrus' conquest of Babylonia was facilitated by the unpopularity among his own people of Nabonidus, the last king of the Babylonian empire. The policy of the new world-ruler was of an enlightened character, as is shown by the permission accorded to the exiled Jews to return to their own land. His activity was mainly concentrated in consolidating his new empire by subduing the enemies on its borders. The conquest of Egypt was, however, left to his successor, Cambyses. Shortly before his death and while he was still away from Persia, a revolt broke out there headed by an adventurer, Gaumata by name, who impersonated Bardiya (Smerdis), the brother of Cambyses. This brother Cambyses had murdered before he set out for his Egyptian campaign. As Cambyses left no children, his brother, had he been alive, would have been heir to the throne. But as he was dead the legitimate heir, as next of kin, was Darius. It was with considerable effort that Darius succeeded in making good his claim to the throne even after he had put the pseudo-Smerdis to death. The way in which Darius organized his domains marks him out as being the real consolidator of the Persian empire.]

Darius was succeeded by his son Xerxes in 485 B.C. The menace of Egypt, which in spite of its conquest by Cambyses had been a source of trouble during the reign of Darius, was successfully grappled with by Xerxes; but his struggles with the ever-growing power of Greece turned out disastrously for Persia. His son Artaxerxes came to the throne in 464 B.C.; troubles with Egypt, Greece, and Syria contributed to the growing weakness of the empire. During the reigns of the remaining five kings of Persia there is not much to record which bears upon the history of the Jews. The empire was rapidly becoming disintegrated, and when Alexander the Great appeared upon the scene the final downfall of the Persian empire came about speedily.]

THERE is sufficient in the Persian Verse Account of Nabonidus to show that this king was thoroughly unpopular among a large section of his people. His injustice, cruelty, and tyranny, together with the discontent inevitably aroused thereby, are evident from what this document says, in spite of its mutilated state and curt sentences.¹ The inscription, it is true, is of Persian origin, and therefore contains a bias against Nabonidus; but even allowing for exaggeration it is impossible not to see

¹ Col. i. 1-6 (Sidney Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 87).

that he was disliked;¹ and that Cyrus' advent was welcomed by many is shown by the fact that he was supported by the powerful governor of the province of Gutium, Ugbaru (Gobryas).² It is also significant that Cyrus regarded his conquest of Babylonia as due to the favour of the great Babylonian god Marduk; for on the Cyrus Cylinder it is said: 'He (Marduk) sought out an upright prince, after his own heart, whom he took by his hand, Cyrus, king of the city Anshan. . . . Marduk, the great Lord, the guardian of his people, joyfully beheld his good deeds and his upright heart. To his own city Babylon his march he commanded . . . like a comrade and helper he marched at his side. . . .'³ This shows that Nabonidus was believed to be out of favour with Marduk.

With the conquest of Babylon went, of course, that of all the component parts of the empire, so that Cyrus now ruled over an empire stretching from the distant east to the Aegean Sea, and from Armenia to the south of Palestine: the greatest empire the world had yet seen.

Cyrus' principle of action in both political and religious domains was in striking contrast to all world-rulers who had preceded him. Instead of humiliating and oppressing the nations whom he had conquered he did what in him lay to conciliate them;⁴ instead of forcing his new subjects to acknowledge his gods he encouraged them to continue in their traditional worship;⁵ instead of transporting captives from one part of the empire to another, he permitted the return to their own land of such exiles as had been so transported,⁶ just as he did in the case of the Jews. His considerate treatment of the subjects of

¹ *Nabonidus Chronicle*; one reason for this was on account of the New Year Festival not having been celebrated year after year; the king's presence was necessary for this, but he continued absent. See also *Verse Account*, vi. 21, 22; Sidney Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 28, 89 f., 116.

² *Nab. Chron.* iii. 15.

³ C. J. Ball, *Light from the East*, p. 224 (1899); Cylinder of Cyrus, lines 14-17, Hagen, *Keilschrifturkunden zur Geschichte des Königs Cyrus*, p. 11 (1891); Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels*, p. 381 (1912).

⁴ *Nab. Chron.* iii. 19; *Cyr. Cyl.* 24, 25, 32, 35; cp. Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, viii. 23.

⁵ *Verse Account*, vi. 12-16; *Nab. Chron.* iii. 17, 18, 21, 22; *Cyr. Cyl.* 32-4; an inscription published by Gadd and Lyrain (*op. cit.*, No. 307) runs: 'Sin the illuminator (?) of heaven and earth with his favourable sign delivered into my hands the four quarters of the world (and) I returned the gods to their shrines'; see also Gadd, *History and Monuments of Ur*, p. 250 (1929).

⁶ *Cylinder of Cyrus*, lines 30 ff.: ' . . . all their populations I gathered together and restored (them) to their own dwelling places'.

his vassal-states, and his broad-minded toleration of every form of worship, mark him out as one of the most enlightened rulers the world has ever seen.

Of the incessant campaigns in the eastern parts of the empire there are varying accounts;¹ but for our purpose they are unimportant.

While on these expeditions Cyrus left his son Cambyses in Babylon in charge of the empire. According to Herodotus he died fighting against the Massagetae, who inhabited the extensive plain to the east of the Caspian Sea,² in 529 B.C.

He was succeeded by his son Cambyses (529-522 B.C.). Not much is known of the history of this king's reign, and what is known is gathered mostly from Herodotus.³ The outstanding event of his reign was the conquest of Egypt. Cyrus had been too much occupied with other pressing wars to be able to pay any attention to this country. Its subjugation was, however, a necessity if the Persian empire was to be safe on its western border; for Syria and Palestine had from time immemorial been regarded by Egypt as coming within the sphere of influence of, if not actually incorporated within, the Egyptian empire.

Before setting out for his Egyptian campaign Cambyses secretly had his brother Bardiya or Bardes (Smerdis) put to death;⁴ whether this was done for fear of his brother assuming the throne during his absence, or whether he had been found to be connected with any hostile movement, is not known; but the crime was destined to have serious consequences.

It was in 525 B.C. that Cambyses led his army through Syria down the coast route, via Gaza, to Pelusium;⁵ after a decisive victory over the Egyptians, he continued his advance to Memphis; the city held out for some time, but was eventually captured, and Cambyses assumed the title of king of Egypt.⁶ He then penetrated farther to the south, and established a Persian garrison at the extreme southern border of Egypt, in Elephantiné (Yeb), and was thus able to exercise authority over the northern

¹ Herodotus, i. 201-14; Berosus mentions the Dahae; Ctesias, the Derbices (*Camb. Anc. Hist.* iv. 15), against whom campaigns were fought.

² Herodotus, i. 204, 207, 214; see also Josephus, *Antiq.* xi. 20.

³ Herodotus, ii. 1, iii. 1-44, 61-6, iv. 165, 166.

⁴ King and Thompson, *The Sculptures and Inscriptions of Darius the Great on the Rock of Behistun*, pp. 6, 7 (1907); Herodotus, iii. 30; *Cyropaedia*, viii. 8.

⁵ Herodotus, iii. 4-9.

⁶ Herodotus, iii. 10, 13-15. Amasis had died previous to this; Psammeticus III had succeeded him.

parts of Ethiopia.¹ Cambyses remained in Egypt for three years; towards the end of that period (in 522 B.C.) and before he had returned to Persia a revolt broke out headed by the Magian Gaumata, who personated the king's murdered brother Bardiya (Smerdis), and became king. There is some mystery about the death of Cambyses; he is said in the Behistun Inscription to have died by his own hand;² Herodotus, however, says that he died through an accidental sword-wound while leaping on to his horse;³ as it was his own sword by which the wound was inflicted, one can perhaps account for the idea having got abroad that he committed suicide.

Cambyes left no children;⁴ but even before his death, as we have just seen, Gaumata, the pseudo-Smerdis, had become king. The unpopularity of Cambyses is seen by the fact that Gaumata's success was immediate; Persia, Media, and other provinces supported him; but in accepting his claims the Persians 'believed that they were transferring their allegiance from Cambyses, who had forfeited his claim to the affection with which they had regarded his father, by his despotic government, to another son of Cyrus.'⁵ The great hold which this pretender gained over the people is well seen by what Darius himself says: 'There was no man, Persian or Median, or one of our family, who could deprive Gaumata of the kingdom; the people feared him for his tyranny . . . no one dared to say anything against Gaumata until I came.'⁶ The inscription goes on: 'I, with a few men, slew Gaumata the Magian, and what foremost men were his allies . . . in Media . . . I smote him . . .'

But the slaying of Gaumata, after his seven or eight months' reign, was far from ending the trouble for Darius, who as the son of Hystaspes, the kinsman of Cyrus,⁷ claimed the right to the throne. The empire seethed with revolt, and a number of claimants to the thrones of different countries incorporated in the empire appeared who asserted that they belonged to the royal houses of the various lands respectively. The most serious of these outbreaks was the revolt of Babylonia, which had acknowledged the claims of Gaumata and after his death made

¹ The Ethiopians are mentioned as the subjects of Darius (Herodotus, iii. 97), as well as of Xerxes (vii. 9).

² King and Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

³ iii. 64, 56.

⁴ Herodotus, iii. 66.

⁵ *Camb. Anc. Hist.* iv. 174.

⁶ King and Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 10 ff.

⁷ Both were descended from the same Achaemenian family.

Nidintu-Bel king; he took the name of Nebuchadrezzar, the son of Nabonidus. In the Nabonidus Chronicle, column iv, which is unfortunately badly broken, 'sufficient remains to show that the subject was a siege of Babylon by some one who had seized the kingship. The first siege of Babylon that followed on that of Cyrus was in the early years of Darius, when Nidintu-Bel, who pretended to be Nebuchadrezzar the son of Nabonidus, was defeated and Babylon captured.'¹

With the further troubles of Darius we are not here concerned; it took him a few years to stamp out these hostile movements; but by 518 B.C. his position as monarch of the whole empire was secure. He continued to hold Egypt in subjection, and his attitude towards that country was conciliatory.² His greatness centres mainly in his genius for organization. His most important work in this connexion was his division of the empire into satrapies; previous to his time the kings of the various conquered countries were frequently permitted to continue their rule under the suzerain; the result of this had been that whenever a new king of the world-empire came to the throne, the petty kings sought to gain their independence, so that every new empire-king had to undertake the task of reconquest. By organizing the whole of his empire into satrapies Darius I took a great step towards doing away with this trouble. The satrap, appointed by the king, and therefore as a royal official directly responsible to the king, took the place of the vassal king. The empire was divided into twenty satrapies (Herodotus, iii. 89); each satrap took up his abode in one of the larger cities in his province and appointed minor Persian officials for the different districts. But the satrap was purely a civil governor; he had no soldiers under him; the military organization was entirely separate. One effect of this was to make the revolt of a satrap almost impossible. The military chief of a satrapy took his orders from the king alone and was quite independent of the satrap himself. With no vassal kings to seize every opportunity for regaining their lost independence the danger of sporadic

¹ Sidney Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 106; see further King and Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 170 ff.

² See further, *Camb. Anc. Hist.* iv. 24 f. In a recently discovered text, published by Sidney Smith (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* [1926], pp. 433-6), it is said: 'Darius the great king, king of kings, king of the lands, son of Hystaspis, the Achaemenian. Darius the king says: This kingship that I hold, from Scythia which is beyond Sogdiana to Kush, from India to Sardis, which Ahuramazda gave who is the greatest of the gods. May Ahuramazda protect me and my household.'

wars in different parts of the empire was to a large extent eliminated, and the lands had a better chance of developing. Herein lies the great importance of Darius' organizing work, and it marks him out as the real founder of the Persian power.¹

Regarding his policy towards subject-peoples, he was, like Cyrus, greatly tolerant.² He died in 486 B.C., and was succeeded by his son Xerxes (485-465 B.C.).

Xerxes' first task was the subjugation of Egypt, which had asserted its independence; he reduced it 'to a worse state of servitude than it was in under Darius';³ this is however an unfair reflection on Darius. There is otherwise but little during his reign that has any bearing on the history of the Jews;⁴ but his wars with Greece which ended so disastrously for himself must have been watched with profound interest by the Jews, for, though well enough treated by him, so far as we know, they were a subject race; and the downfall of the suzerain might always open out the prospect of their being able to achieve independence. He was murdered by one of his courtiers, Artabanus, who usurped the throne for seven months, and was then himself murdered by Artaxerxes I (Longimanus), the third son of Xerxes (464-424 B.C.). A vigorous attempt on the part of Egypt to regain her independence, which was, however, unsuccessful, thanks to the generalship of Megabyzos, and a long-drawn-out struggle with Greece in which the Persians gained nothing, rather the contrary, and, finally, the revolt of Megabyzos, the satrap of Syria, which was, however, suppressed—these are the outstanding historical events of the long reign of Artaxerxes I. The Jews had reason, as will be seen (see pp. 119 ff.), to feel kindly disposed towards him, for his attitude was friendly.

The reigns of the remaining kings of Persia offer very little

¹ See Hölscher, *Palästina in der persischen und hellenistischen Zeit: Eine historisch-geographische Untersuchung*, pp. 1 ff. (1903). See further the interesting details given by R. W. Rogers, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-113.

² For further details of his reign, which, however, did not affect Jewish history, see R. W. Rogers, *op. cit.*, pp. 113 ff.

³ Herodotus, vii. 7.

⁴ In Ezra iv. 6 there is an incidental note that at the beginning of the reign of Xerxes 'an accusation against the inhabitants of Judah and Jerusalem' was sent to him, presumably by the 'adversaries of Judah and Benjamin', mentioned in iv. 1. But it would be precarious to lay much weight on this, for, as we shall see later, the compiler of the books of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* has been so careless in the use of his sources and has worked them over to such an extent that much of what he records cannot be regarded as reliable history.

that bears directly on the history of the Jews. Xerxes II reigned only a few months, when he was murdered by his half-brother Sogdianus; retribution soon overtook him, as he, too, was murdered by another half-brother, Darius II, Nothus, who reigned 423-404 B.C. During the reigns of Artaxerxes II, Mnemon (404-358 B.C.), and Artaxerxes III, Ochus (358-338 B.C.), the struggle with Greece continued, and there was intermittent warfare with Egypt, the latter seeking to throw off the Persian yoke. The Egyptian campaign of Artaxerxes II during the years 389-387 B.C. failed to subdue the country, and the same was the case with a second attempt in 374 B.C. Later, in 361 B.C., the Egyptians conquered the southern coast of Syria, though their triumph was of short duration. The struggles with both Greece and Egypt were taken up by Artaxerxes III, Ochus; it is during his reign that we first come across the name of Philip of Macedon. Against Egypt he was at first unsuccessful; and as a result, in 351 B.C., he was faced with a serious revolt on the part of the cities of Phoenicia in which the leading part was taken by Zidon; the Jews also joined in this revolt; the Persian army was defeated and the Phoenicians remained independent for three years.¹ The insurrection was, nevertheless, ultimately put down by the king, who led his army in person, in 348 B.C. This helped to delay the Persian advance on Egypt; but finally, in 346 B.C., Egypt was subdued.² It is, however, very significant that Persia was only able to achieve victory with the help of Greek mercenaries; it showed clearly the growing weakness of the empire.³ Towards the end of his reign court intrigues arose in which the eunuch Bagoas, who had been one of the king's most prominent generals, took the leading part. He was an ambitious and unscrupulous plotter who aimed, if not actually at obtaining the throne for himself, at any rate at placing upon it a puppet through whom he could rule. At his instigation the king was poisoned, together with the elder sons who would stand in his way; the youngest son, Arces, he spared for his own purposes. However, Arces proved wilful, therefore he too was despatched.⁴ Bagoas next chose a descendant of Darius Nothus, intending to use him as an instrument; but again he was mistaken in his choice; the new king, who took the name of Darius III (Codomannus), soon

¹ Diod. xvi. 40, 41, 44, 48.

² Diod. xvi. 51.

³ Diod. xvi. 47.

⁴ Diod. xvii. 95.

perceived that Bagoas was a dangerous, self-seeking man; as he had poisoned others so he too, at the king's command, was poisoned.

In the meantime Alexander, who succeeded his father Philip to the throne of Macedonia in the same year as Darius, 336 B.C., had started on his victorious career. In 334 B.C. the advance eastwards began; the battle of Granicus shook the edifice of the Persian empire to its foundations.¹ Blow after blow followed. Then came the decisive battle of Issus, the conquest of Phoenicia, and the fall of Tyre 332 B.C. This was followed by the conquest of Egypt. In 331 B.C. came the final battle in the plain of Gaugamela,² followed before long by the surrender of Babylon. Darius retreated farther and farther east, followed by Alexander, until, somewhere on the road to Bactria (the actual site is not absolutely certain) Alexander came upon the dead body of Darius, murdered by the spear-thrusts of conspirators (July 330 B.C.). The Persian empire was a thing of the past, being now incorporated in the vast empire of Alexander the Great.

¹ Diod. xvii. 19, 21.

² Diod. xvii. 55-61. The plain of Gaugamela lay to the south-east of Nineveh.

Chapter VII

THE RETURN OF THE EXILES TO PALESTINE: THE EARLIEST YEARS AFTER THE RETURN

SUMMARY

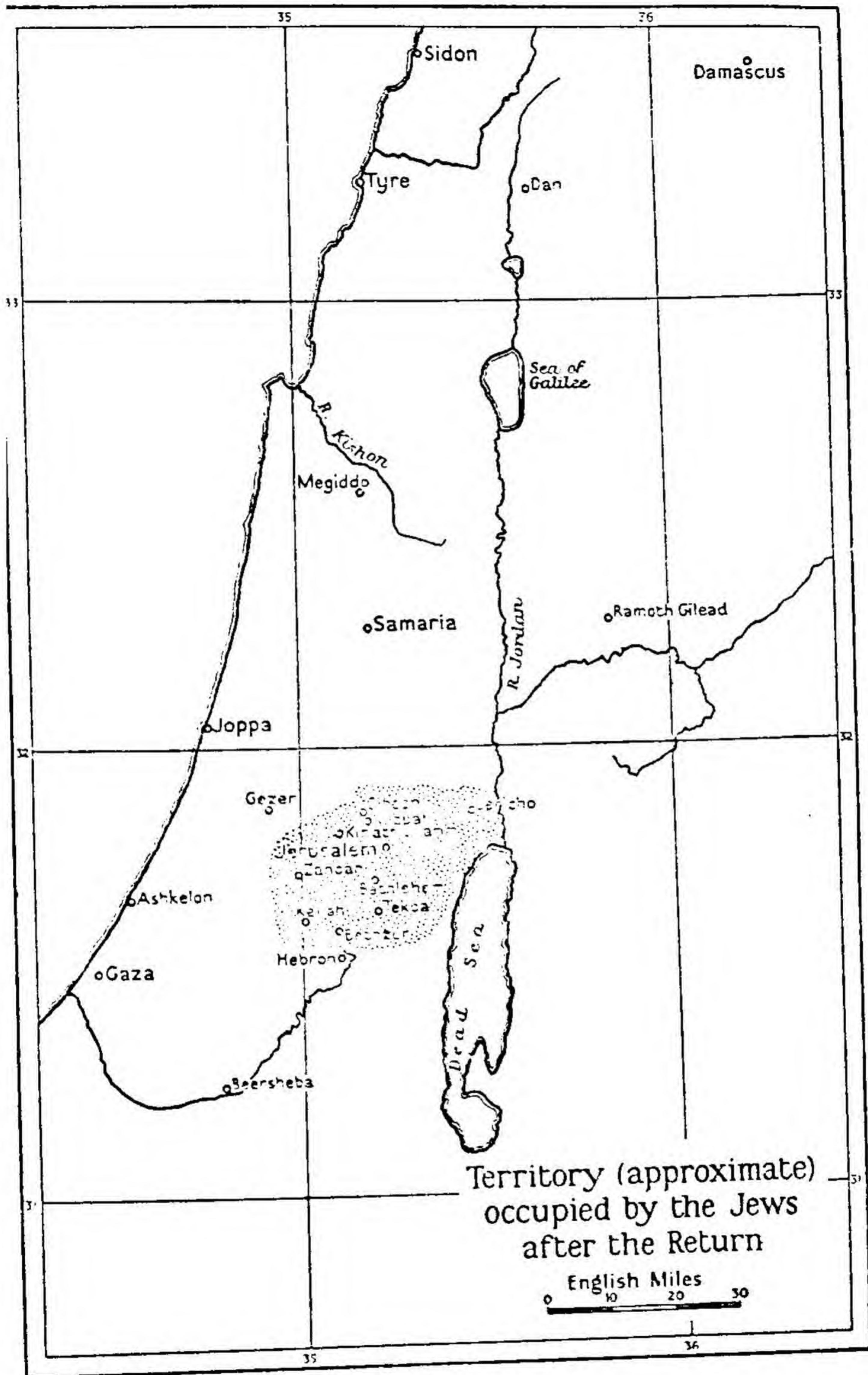
[For the history of the earliest years after the Return the sources are exiguous. In some respects the 'Greek Ezra' offers important evidence. The books of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, originally forming one with 1, 2 Chronicles, demand much caution and discernment in their use. The compiler was influenced by certain tendencies and had certain preconceived ideas; and the sources which he utilized in compiling his work were manipulated in accordance with these. His main interest centred in the worship and ritual of the Temple as these existed in his day, i.e. at least two centuries after the time with which we are dealing. So far as the period from the time of the Return to the age of Ezra is concerned the prime objects which the Chronicler had in view were: to record the rebuilding of the Temple, to insist upon the paramount importance of the cultus and everything connected with it, and to represent Ezra as the great exponent of the Law.

That Cyrus issued a decree permitting the return of the Jewish exiles to Palestine there is no sufficient reason to doubt; but the forms in which that decree is found in the book of *Ezra* are very largely the work of the Chronicler.

There is reason to believe that in the Chronicler's records there are some things mentioned in connexion with the rebuilding of the Temple which were originally applied to the building of the city walls.

The Chronicler makes the rebuilding of the Temple the real object of the return of the exiles, and, according to him, the foundation was laid in the second year after the Return (537 B.C.); but in the book of Haggai it is stated that this work was started in the second year of Darius I (520 B.C.). The Chronicler, Haggai, and Zechariah all agree that Joshua and Zerubbabel were the leaders in this work. Whichever of the two dates (537 B.C. or 520 B.C.) is right it is evident that both cannot be so; for Joshua and Zerubbabel are not likely to have been the leaders in the work twice over, with an interval of seventeen years; and further, it is impossible to believe that the 'foundation' was laid twice over. In addition to this there is the fact that while in one place the Chronicler says that Joshua and Zerubbabel took the lead in the work, in another place he says that this was done by Sheshbazzar. On the face of it the Chronicler is at fault here.

Other details which are considered show that the history of the



early years following upon the Return of the exiles as contained in the books of *Haggai* and *Zechariah* is far more reliable than that presented by the Chronicler in the first six chapters of the book of *Ezra*. In compiling the history contained in these chapters the Chronicler utilized some valuable documents; but he has mixed up his material, he has confused names, and he has altered various details in order to bring them into conformity with his preconceived ideas. His prime object was to represent the rebuilding of the Temple as having been undertaken by the returned exiles immediately on their arrival in Palestine. With his ecclesiastical turn of mind it was inconceivable to the Chronicler that the returned exiles could have been other than eager to start rebuilding their sanctuary immediately. The difficulties in the way of this, which *Haggai* and *Zechariah* clearly indicate, did not appeal to him. Having, therefore, his own ideas as to what ought to have happened the Chronicler constructed his history accordingly, regardless of the consequent chaos.

The sources for the history of the earliest years after the Return of the exiles are: *Ezra* i. 1—iv. 5 and 1 *Esdras* ii. 1—14, v. 7—70, vi. vii; Josephus, *Antiq.* xi. 1 ff.

The complicated question of the relationship between these two *Ezra* books cannot be fully dealt with here; it must suffice to say that there are reasons for regarding 1 *Esdras* (the 'Greek *Ezra*') as a free translation of a text in some respects superior to that of the present Massoretic text, so that the use of the 'Greek *Ezra*' in studying the history of this period is indispensable. One illustration of this may be given: the 'Greek *Ezra*' takes no account of *Neh.* i. 1—vii. 72, but gives the history as recorded in *Ezra* vii—x, *Neh.* vii. 73—viii. 12; it does not, therefore, present the gap of fourteen years found in *Ezra-Nehemiah*, but makes the history of *Ezra* continuous. In its present form the 'Greek *Ezra*' is, of course, of later date than the Hebrew-Aramaic *Ezra*, and belongs probably to the early part of the first century B.C.; but the fact that it is based in part on a relatively purer text than that of the present Hebrew-Aramaic one justifies the belief that it reflects in some measure an earlier textual date. Our present Hebrew-Aramaic book of *Ezra* belongs to the beginning of the Greek period (*circa* 300 B.C.). In any case, however, the documents utilized in the compilation of the book of *Ezra* (though this does not apply to much in the book of *Nehemiah*) were written a considerable time after the events described. Thus, the very marked historical inaccuracies which both books contain can, to some extent, be understood. It is also important to emphasize here one of the main purposes for which *Ezra-Nehemiah* was written;¹

¹ They formed originally, with 1, 2 *Chronicles*, one book; proof of this will be found in any critical commentary, or Old Testament Introduction.

it was not so much political history, which plays a relatively unimportant part, as ecclesiastical ideas, upon which the main stress was laid. The Chronicler—for he is quite clearly the compiler—was specially concerned with all that had to do with worship and ritual: the reinstatement of the sacrificial system, the priests and their functions, their due support, the return of the holy vessels to the sanctuary, the celebration of the festivals, and the purification of the congregation. In addition to this, it is the rebuilding of the Temple which receives emphasis; the rebuilding of the walls is quite subordinate to this. It is, therefore, evident that the compiler's main object was not to offer an historical record of his people during the post-exilic period, but to set forth the paramount importance of the worship of the Temple. Further, a second main purpose was to present Ezra as the one really important person in Jewish post-exilic history; and with his name the Law was indissolubly connected, since he appears as the great champion of the Law.

Therefore, in using *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, and the 'Greek Ezra', to construct the history both of the earliest years after the Return, and that of subsequent years, it is of vital importance to bear in mind all through what were the prime objects for which the compiler wrote, viz. to tell of the rebuilding of the Temple, to insist upon the supreme position of the *cultus* and everything in connexion with it; and to glorify the name of Ezra as the great exponent of the Law.]

THE decree of Cyrus permitting the return of the Jewish exiles in Babylonia to their own land, to which is prefixed the note that it was issued in his first year,¹ occurs in Ezra i. 2-4.

'All the kingdoms of the earth hath Yahweh, the God of heaven, given me; and he hath charged me to build him an house in Jerusalem, which is in Judah. Whosoever there is among you of all his people, his God be with him, and let him go up to Jerusalem, which is in Judah, and build the house of Yahweh, the God of Israel; he is the God which is in Jerusalem. And whosoever is left, in any place where he sojourneth, let the men of his place help him with silver, and with gold, and with goods, and with beasts, beside the free-will offering, for the house of God which is in Jerusalem.'

From what is said in the verse preceding this it is clear that the Chronicler intended it to be understood that he copied the text of the decree from a *written* source. This was doubtless the case, and, therefore, as will be seen, he could not have made his copy from the original document. In the issuing of such

¹ The first year of his becoming king of Babylonia is, of course, meant (538 B.C.); he became king of Persia in 558 B.C. In 1 Esdras ii. 1-3 it is said: 'Cyrus king of the Persians', and in 1 Esdras vi. 17: 'In the first year that Cyrus reigned over the country of Babylon'; the 'Greek Ezra' is, therefore, more exact here.

a decree there is nothing improbable; it was the general policy of the Persian kings to conciliate their vassal-states, and no better means to this end could be employed than that of recognizing and honouring their national deities. In the Cyrus Cylinder¹ the king takes glory in the fact that he had brought many gods back to their original seats of worship; similarly in this edict he is represented as being anxious that the God of the Jews should have his place of worship restored in order that he might be among his people again. There is, therefore, no reason to doubt that in some form such a decree was issued by Cyrus. The royal permission for a considerable body of subjects who, at any rate nominally, occupied a servile position, to leave the country, must have assumed an official form of some kind, and, as we shall see, this is the main thing.

On the other hand, there are some things in the form of this edict which compel us to regard it with suspicion. The very fact that it is claimed to be in fulfilment of the words of Jeremiah (Ezra i. 1) leads one to expect to find in it the *imprimatur* of the Jewish point of view. Further, it must be emphasized that the prophecy of Jeremiah to which reference is made (Jer. xxix. 10) speaks only of the exiles returning to their native country, whereas the *raison d'être* of the decree, as presented in Ezra i. 2-4, is to urge the building of the Temple, which is mentioned three times in this short passage. It says, moreover, that Yahweh 'hath charged me to build him an house in Jerusalem', a charge which the king does not attempt to fulfil, but which he delegates to those Jewish exiles who care to undertake it; and it is very doubtful whether Cyrus would have used the expression 'the God of Israel', we should look rather for 'the God of the Jews'.² Again, as a worshipper of Marduk, Cyrus would not be likely to say that Yahweh had given him 'all the kingdoms of the earth'; he had the susceptibilities of his own people to think of. The expressions, which are more pointed in Hebrew, in verse 4, 'whosoever is left', and 'where he sojourneth', as though the exiles were merely in Babylon on a temporary visit, are quite unnatural in a decree of this kind. Unlikely, too, in a Persian official document like this is the mention of the 'free-will offering for the house of God'.³ In the same verse it is implied that the

¹ Lines 31 ff. (Hagen, *Keilschrifturkunden* . . ., p. 13).

² Neither occurs in the other form of this edict (Ezra vi. 3-5).

³ נָתַתָּה ('free-will offering') is a technical cult-term.

Babylonians among whom the exiles were living were called upon to give gifts towards the building of the Temple to those Jews who intended returning to Palestine; this might well be the Chronicler's idea of the fitness of things; he would remember how the departing Hebrews 'spoiled the Egyptians' (Exod. iii. 22); but that he was editing his source is seen by a comparison with the parallel account in 1 Esdras ii. 5-7, where the reference in the decree is to fellow Jews, not to Babylonians.

We are thus led to the conclusion that, so far as this form of the edict is concerned, it was probably based on some official document which gave permission to the exiled Jews to return to their own country; but that otherwise it is the work of the Chronicler. We shall, later, seek to show that there are grounds for the contention that the project of rebuilding the Temple did not arise until the time of Haggai and Zechariah.

In connexion with the form of the Cyrus decree given in Ezra i. 2-4 we must consider Ezra vi. 3-5, where we get another version of it inserted in the decree of Darius I (see below, p. 81 f.), and written in Aramaic. Babylon is the place where one would expect a document of this kind to be preserved, but Ecbatana in Media, the summer residence of the Persian kings, is stated to have been where it was found (vi. 2); this must in all likelihood have been the case, for there would be no point in mentioning such a detail otherwise. In the same verse, the reference to a 'roll' on which the decree was written proves that the compiler could not have seen the original which, like all Persian official documents, would have been inscribed on a clay tablet.¹ It is evident that the Chronicler was utilizing a written copy of the original; but, if so, it is difficult to understand why it was not shown, or at least mentioned, to Tattenai, the governor, when he asked Zerubbabel and Jeshua: 'Who gave you a decree to build this house?' The fact is, as we venture to think, that either by mistake, or more probably by design, what originally applied to the building of the walls has been made to apply to the building of the Temple, in chap. v, which belongs to the section.² There is no mention of all this in either *Haggai* or *Zechariah*. But to come back to vi. 3-5: in verses 3 and 4 the dimensions of the Temple to be built are given; it is extremely unlikely that details of this kind would be indicated in an official

¹ It is not as though the Jews were unfamiliar with inscribed writing: see Job xix. 24.

² Note the words, 'and to finish this wall', in verse 3.

decree, but it is quite in the style of the Chronicler, or of one of his school of thought.

One more point must be mentioned: in the form of the decree as given in Ezra i. 2-4 it is not said in the decree itself that it was issued in the first year of Cyrus; this occurs in the prefatory words of the compiler. But in the vi. 3-5 form this date is given in the decree itself: 'And there was found . . . a roll, and therein was thus written for a record: "In the first year of Cyrus the king . . ."' This cannot be right, though a Jew might, from his own point of view, and thinking specifically of Babylonia as the place of exile, speak of 538 B.C. as 'the first year of Cyrus'; this could not be the case with Cyrus himself, whose first year as king was, as already pointed out, 558 B.C. It is only a small point, but it is a further distinct indication of the way in which the compiler's hand is seen to be at work in these records.

It has been necessary to devote some space to a consideration of the two forms of this Cyrus decree as presented in the book of *Ezra*, because it is important that we should realize at the outset of our investigation into the history of the early post-exilic period that the sources contained in *Ezra-Nehemiah* have to a considerable extent been made untrustworthy by the way in which they have been manipulated by the Chronicler, as well as by one or two others of his way of thinking. We shall come across further illustrations of this as we proceed.

The opinions of scholars differ widely as to the historical character of this Cyrus decree; by some it is held to be a pure fiction, concocted in the mind of the Chronicler; others attach to it, as it seems to us, a somewhat exaggerated amount of reliability. We prefer to take a middle course as that best supported by the probabilities of the case; a decree in some form was issued by Cyrus permitting the return of the exiles, but this has been so altered for a particular purpose by the Chronicler that its original form and object have been almost obliterated.

As an outcome of the Cyrus decree there followed the return of a certain number of the exiles to Jerusalem under the leadership of Sheshbazzar, 'the prince of Judah'. In this section (Ezra i. 5-11) there are one or two points to be discussed.

The real object of the return, according to the Chronicler—and it is on this that special emphasis is laid—was that the rebuilding of the Temple in Jerusalem might be undertaken; it is for this purpose that offerings in money and kind are given

(i. 6) by those among the exiles who preferred to remain where they were.¹ The foundation was laid, according to Ezra iii. 8-13, in the second month of the second year after the Return, i.e. in the year 537 B.C., which was the second year of Cyrus, according to the Jewish way of reckoning his reign from his kingship over Babylonia.

Now it is here that we get the first irreconcilable difference between the Chronicler's account and that of Haggai and Zechariah; for in Hag. i. 1, 15 it is said that the work was started in the sixth month of the second year of Darius I, i.e. 520 B.C. Further, both the Chronicler (Ezra iii. 2, 8, iv. 2, 3) and Haggai (i. 1, 12, ii. 2-4), as well as Zechariah (iii. 8, 9), mention Jeshua (or Joshua) and Zerubbabel² as taking the lead in the work; so that, according to the Chronicler, these two were the leaders both in 537 and 520; in itself this is not so impossible—though the foundation cannot well have been laid twice over—but in Ezra i. 8, 11 Sheshbazzar, the prince of Judah, appears as the leader; and in v. 16 it is definitely stated that 'Sheshbazzar laid the foundations of the house of God which is in Jerusalem'. So that the Chronicler differs not only from Haggai and Zechariah, but from himself! One thing is clear, and that is that the Chronicler has confused the second year of Darius with the second year of Cyrus, either by mistake or of set purpose. What we are to make of Sheshbazzar is difficult; he is the 'prince of Judah' in Ezra i. 8, and 'governor' in v. 14,³ and he does not appear again. The probability is that he was the actual leader of the exiles who returned, but has disappeared in the dark period between 537 B.C. and 520 B.C.

As to the vessels taken by Nebuchadrezzar which Cyrus is credited with having returned, the Chronicler had clearly forgotten what is said in 2 Kgs. xxiv. 13, that Nebuchadrezzar 'cut in pieces all the vessels of gold . . .'. Moreover, the number given in i. 11 of these vessels is excessive, 5,400. The Chronicler, as is well known from other passages, was interested in all that concerned the Temple and its belongings; and, not unnaturally

¹ Cp. Josephus, *Antiq.* xi. 8: 'Many abode in Babylon, not willing to leave their possessions.'

² It is worth noting, as illustrating the Chronicler's point of view, that he almost always mentions Jeshua before Zerubbabel, the priest being to him the more important (but cp. Ezra iii. 8, iv. 3); Haggai does the reverse.

³ Though this is probably due to the fact that these two passages belong to different sources.

from his point of view, he took for granted that the holy vessels would be returned, and somewhat exaggerated their number, according to his wont. The subject is not mentioned by Haggai or Zechariah; the former might certainly have been expected to refer to it, had it had any basis in fact, for he shows a particular interest in cultual matters (see ii. 10-14).

The long list of returned exiles in Ezra ii¹ is undoubtedly taken from some official source, preserved in the Temple archives; but while retaining some historical basis it represents rather the conditions of the time of the Chronicler. There is nothing to show that any large number of exiles returned at this time. That the totals differ in the three lists (Neh. vii, 1 Esdras v, and this one) is not a matter of importance; but that over 4,000 priests returned from Babylon (Ezra ii. 36-9) seems rather in accordance with the Chronicler's ideas than with the actual facts of the case.

After seven months, during which the people were presumably settling down ('the children of Israel were in the cities', iii. 1), there is a general gathering of the people in Jerusalem for worship; as the text stands this was a spontaneous movement of the people, for no mention is made of their having been summoned. This is an ideal state of universal piety which stands in marked contrast to what Haggai and Zechariah say. According to iii. 2-6 the full Jewish ritual starts immediately; this is quite incompatible with what is said in Hag. i. 2, Zech. iii. 7, and other passages; it is evident that the Chronicler is assuming the conditions of his own time to have been in vogue in the early days after the Return.

We have now a gap in the narrative; for the section iii. 1-7 tells of what took place in the seventh month, which, as the text stands, must be the seventh month after the Return; then with verse 8 we come to the 'second year', and this must refer to the second year of Cyrus on account of the words which follow: '. . . all they that were come out of the captivity unto Jerusalem'. The account of the laying of the foundation of the Temple then follows (verses 9-13). This account bears the indubitable marks of the Chronicler; e.g. the Levites have the oversight of the building (cp. 1 Chron. xxiii. 4); the mention of the priests' apparel, and their trumpets, and of the Levites with cymbals, and of the music 'after the order of David'

¹ Cp. Neh. vii. 6 ff.

(cp. 1 Chron. xvi. 4-6, xxiii. 5, 6; 2 Chron. v. 12, xxiii. 18); the whole passage contains a number of words and expressions which are characteristic of the Chronicler. The further account of the interruption of the building by 'adversaries of Judah and Benjamin' (iv. 1-5) will be dealt with later (see p. 89).

We then have a striking illustration of the confusion of the history as presented in these first six chapters of *Ezra*, for in iv. 6-23 (written in Aramaic) the subject is the building of the walls, which did not take place until the time of Nehemiah (cp. Neh. i. 3). Moreover, the names of Xerxes and Artaxerxes are mixed up in iv. 6, 7. The whole section is out of place (see below). The original narrative is then taken up again in iv. 24, where it is said that the work of the house of God ceased until 'the second year of the reign of Darius'; and this in direct contradiction with the words of v. 16, where it is said that since the time that Sheshbazzar laid the foundations of the house of God 'even until now (i.e. the second year of Darius, see verses 6, 7) hath it been in building, and yet it is not completed'.

The mention of the second year of Darius in iv. 24 serves to introduce the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, and what follows in v. 6-vi. 12¹ is an Aramaic account of the building of the Temple. But though the names of these prophets occur in the introduction to this section they are not mentioned again, nor do Joshua and Zerubbabel play any part in what happens; the section, with the exception of v. 1, 2, probably belongs to the same Aramaic document as iv. 8-23, and may or may not be the work of the Chronicler; perhaps it has been added later by a redactor. It is interesting as witnessing to the existence of different written accounts of the rebuilding of the Temple. It is unnecessary to go into the details of the section; one has but to compare the conditions described there with those given in *Haggai* and *Zechariah* to see that while it contains the reminiscences of some things that happened, as a whole it is unhistorical. As an illustration of this a word may be added about the Darius decree (vi. 6-12). It may be granted that such a decree, confirming that of Cyrus, was issued; but as here presented it contains some elements which cannot be regarded as historical. Thus, in verse 8 it is said that for the building of the house 'the king's goods, even the tribute beyond the river', are to be

¹ See below, p. 86.

employed; in itself there is nothing impossible in this; but its extreme improbability is seen in the fact that it is never even hinted at by Haggai or Zechariah, and there was every reason for them to have mentioned it had it been true, for the former shows clearly enough the poverty-stricken condition of the people at this time (Hag. i. 6, 8-11); royal help of this kind would have been eagerly accepted. It is, further, unthinkable that a Persian monarch should, in such an official document, contemplate the possibility of kings and peoples setting themselves in opposition to him (Ezra vi. 12).

From all that has been said, therefore, it must be recognized that the history, as given in the first six chapters of the book of *Ezra*, cannot be regarded as reliable. At the base of them there are various documents which contained valuable information; but they have been mixed up, names have been confused, and alterations have been made; so that it is impossible to get from the text as it stands any clear idea of the course of events. The prime object of the Chronicler has been to try to prove that the rebuilding of the Temple was undertaken by the exiles as soon as, or very soon after, they returned. It was inconceivable to him that anything should stand in the way of this, and he manipulated his sources accordingly; but he was not sufficiently careful in omitting what was in disagreement with his point of view.

Chapter VIII

THE REBUILDING OF THE TEMPLE: THE BOOKS OF HAGGAI AND ZECHARIAH I-VIII

SUMMARY

[From the unreliable details given by the Chronicler regarding the history of the early years after 537 B.C., we turn to the records contained in the books of *Haggai* and *Zechariah* i—viii. The exact dates given in these books confirm belief in their reliability. The main point of importance in the present connexion is that the foundation of the Temple was laid in 520 B.C. Zech. i—viii brings us down only to 518; but there is a reliable date given in Ezra vi. 14, 15, where it is said that the building was completed 'on the third day of the month Adar, which was in the sixth year of the reign of Darius', i.e. 516 B.C.]

In considering the question as to who actually took part in the rebuilding of the Temple—a subject not without some importance for the understanding of the subsequent history—it is necessary to bear in mind that the term 'the remnant' is always used in reference to the returned exiles both by Haggai and Zechariah, as well as by the Chronicler. The term 'the people of the land' is always used by the Chronicler in reference to those Jews who were left in Palestine after the Captivity; he always represents them as of mixed race, as holding an impure Jewish faith, and as being hostile to the returned exiles. Haggai and Zechariah, on the contrary, disagree with the Chronicler on all three points. In accordance with his erroneous ideas the Chronicler makes the returned exiles the sole builders of the Temple; whereas Haggai and Zechariah, recording the true facts, show that the building was begun by 'the people of the land', who were afterwards joined in this by the returned exiles.

In view of the contradictory statements in the sources, a reconstruction of what was the probable sequence of events is suggested (see pp. 90 ff. below). Arising out of this the following statements are made, and arguments in support of them are offered: Both Haggai and Zechariah came from the Babylonian Exile; the Temple, though in a dilapidated condition, was still standing when the exiles returned; the altar had been used for offering sacrifices during the whole period of the Exile; and there was a considerable Jewish population living in the land during the whole of this period.]

I. THE 'FOUNDATION' AND COMPLETION OF THE TEMPLE

FROM the historical point of view an important element in the books of *Haggai* and *Zechariah* i—viii¹ is the exact dates which the writers give. The book of *Haggai* begins by giving the date: the second year of Darius the king, the sixth month, the first day of the month, i.e. the 1st of September,² approximately, 520 B.C. Zerubbabel is governor of Judah, and Joshua is the High-priest, a title which occurs here for the first time. This is eighteen years after the return of the first exiles, and there is as yet no intention among the people of even beginning to lay the foundation of the Temple (Hag. i. 2); the same is true both of Zerubbabel and of the High-priest (Hag. i. 12), who only take action when urged to do so by Haggai. One cannot fail to notice that the motive given for building the Temple is really an appeal to self-interest; the prophet tells the people, in effect, that the reason of their bad harvests, of their want of food, drink, clothing, and wages, is because 'this house lieth waste' (Hag. i. 4-7); he says: 'Ye looked for much, and, lo, it came to little; and when ye brought it home, I did blow upon it. Why? saith Yahweh Zebaoth. Because of mine house that lieth waste . . .' (Hag. i. 9-11). Even Zechariah, though of a far more spiritual temperament, has a similar thought (Zech. viii. 9, 10). The appeal is effective, for just over three weeks later the work is undertaken (Hag. i. 14, 15), the intervening time having been presumably employed in gathering materials (Hag. i. 8). But it would appear that after a month's work both leaders and people became discouraged at the forlorn appearance of the Temple as compared with what it had been (Hag. ii. 1-3); even Zerubbabel and the High-priest have to be encouraged (verse 4). More effective, however, than encouraging words is the prophecy that Haggai utters of the near approach of the Messianic time for which the Temple must be ready. The traditional belief that there is to be a period of unrest which will precede the advent of the Messiah, is voiced by the prophet in the well-known words: 'Yet once, it is a little while, and I will shake the heavens, and the earth, and the sea,

¹ The second part of the book of *Zechariah* (ix-xiv) belongs to a later time; this will be dealt with below.

² It was under Babylonian influence that during and after the Exile the Jews reckoned the year as beginning in spring; in pre-exilic times it began in the autumn: see further Additional Note A, p. 20.

and the dry land; and I will shake all nations, and the desirable things¹ of all nations shall come, and I will fill this house with glory . . . ' (Hag. ii. 6, 7).

In uttering these words, Haggai, as the earlier prophets had often done, was giving his interpretation of what was happening in the wider world of his surroundings. We know that just at this time Darius I had to deal with the Magian pretender Gaumata who had achieved great success in gaining the support of various parts of the empire; scarcely was he got out of the way than insurrections broke out in several other subject kingdoms; the most serious of these was the revolt of Babylonia under Nidintu-Bel. All this unrest was going on during the years 521-519 B.C.; it was small wonder that Haggai, whose knowledge of affairs in the empire was in all probability derived from his compatriots in Babylonia, should have believed that all this commotion among the peoples heralded the near approach of the Messianic Age. Nor is it necessarily any contradiction to this when Zechariah, barely six months later, says that 'the earth sitteth still, and is at rest', for a few months' lull in the hostilities would easily account for that. The words which follow: 'O Yahweh Zebaoth, how long wilt thou not have mercy on Jerusalem and on the cities of Judah . . . ?' (i. 11, 12) show the prophet's impatience; and his expectation of the near approach of the Messiah comes out clearly in viii. 1-17.

The foundation of the Temple, then, was laid in 520 B.C., and all that is known of Haggai from his book is confined to this year; in the case of Zechariah the latest date mentioned in his book is 518 B.C. (vii. 1); so that from neither of these prophets do we get any information as to the completion of the Temple; for this we must turn again to the book of *Ezra* (v-vi. 18). The narrative is briefly as follows: In the second year of Darius, in response to the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, there rose up Zerubbabel and Joshua, and they 'began to build the house of God' (v. 2); this is in accordance with what is recorded in Hag. i. 14, 15; but of all that follows in the book of *Ezra* there is not a trace in the books of *Haggai* and *Zechariah*. No sooner has the work of rebuilding begun than the Persian governor, Tattenai, comes to inquire whether permission has been given to build; he does not forbid the building to go on,

¹ As the context shows, 'the desirable things of all nations' refers to their wealth ('the silver is mine and the gold is mine', verse 8).

but sends a letter to the king, Darius, for instructions. In due course the answer comes back that the building may be continued.

In view of the straightforward and well-dated account of this period in the book of *Haggai*, which has not a hint of what is recorded in this Aramaic document (Ezra v. 6—vi. 12), it is difficult to regard this latter as historical, or at any rate as belonging to the period in question. It looks as though it had originally referred to some other episode at some later time, but was thought to be dealing with this period, and was altered, where necessary, accordingly. The bad state of the text shows it to have been worked over; and the Chronicler, who made use of it, had, as we have seen, no historical sense. In any case, it cannot be regarded as throwing any light on the history of the years under consideration (520–516 B.C.).

It is different when we leave this Aramaic document and come to vi. 14 ff.; the mention of Tattenai and his companions in verse 13 one can understand as it is intended to form the link with what has preceded. But we get to authentic history with verses 14 ff., where it is said: 'And the elders of the Jews builded and prospered, through the prophesying of Haggai the prophet and Zechariah the son of Iddo. And they builded and finished it, according to the commandment of the God of Israel.¹ . . . And this house was finished on the third day of the month Adar, which was in the sixth year of the reign of Darius the king,' i.e. 516 B.C. The remainder of the section (verses 16–22) contains elaborate details after the heart of the Chronicler.

There is no reason to doubt that, so far as the main point is concerned, namely, the completion of the Temple and the celebrations which followed, the Chronicler gives reliable history, due allowance being made for some embellishment on his part.

2. THE BUILDERS OF THE TEMPLE

In discussing this subject there are certain expressions which demand some examination because they are used in reference to those who took a leading part in the rebuilding of the Temple.

The term *Shē'ērîth*, the 'remnant', and the somewhat similar

¹ The words which follow immediately, 'and according to the decree of Cyrus and Darius, and Artaxerxes king of Persia', may safely be regarded as a later addition.

word, which comes from the same root, *ha-nish'ār*, 'that which is left', are always used in reference to the returned exiles; and this not only in the books of *Haggai* and *Zechariah*, but also in *Ezra-Nehemiah* (Hag. i. 12, 14; ii. 2; Zech. viii. 6, 11, 12; Ezra i. 4, ix. 8, 14, 15; cp. also Neh. i. 3); there are also the fuller forms: 'The rest (*ha-shē'ār*) of the children of the captivity' (*Gālútha*; Ezra vi. 16), 'the children of the captivity' (*Gōlah*; Ezra viii. 35, cp. x. 7; Neh. i. 2, 3). The use of these terms, therefore, offers no ambiguity, as they are used in the same sense in all the records,¹ viz. of the returned exiles.

Another expression is 'the people of the land' (*'am-ha-'aretz*); when used in *Ezra-Nehemiah* this term always denotes the semi-heathen people of the land, in reference either to those living in Judah, or Samaria, or both, and always in contrast to the returned exiles. Those meant by this term, therefore, are the Jews, or their descendants, who were left in Judah at the time of the deportation to Babylonia, as well as the Jews living in what had been the northern kingdom; and in *Ezra-Nehemiah* they are always represented as hostile to the returned exiles; they are also regarded as of mixed race and of holding an un-Jewish faith. This is illustrated by some expressions used synonymously with 'the people of the land'. Thus, in Ezra iv. 1, 'the adversaries of Judah' are identical with 'the people of the land' in verse 4, and are spoken of as opposed to 'the people of Judah'; by this latter are meant the returned exiles. They are called 'the heathen of the land' in Ezra vi. 21, Neh. v. 17; 'the children of the foreigner' in Neh. ix. 2, from whom the Israelites must separate themselves; 'the mixed multitude' in Neh. xiii. 3, from whom likewise the Israelites must separate themselves. A somewhat similar expression, but different in meaning, is 'the peoples of the lands' (*'ammē hā-'ārātzōth*); this refers to unfriendly peoples of a wider area, but who are also heathen (Ezra iii. 3, ix. 1, 2, 11, x. 11). In *Ezra-Nehemiah* there are always, with one exception, these two bodies of peoples: (1) the returned exiles, pure of race and religion, and (2) those who had during the whole period of the Exile been living in Palestine, whether in Judaea or Samaria, and who are regarded as impure both racially and religiously. The exception is in

¹ It should, however, be noted that in Ezra viii. 35 we get the phrase: 'they that come out of the captivity (*ha-Shebi*), the children of the exile (*ha-Gōlah*)'; note also the phrase in Ezra x. 8, 'the congregation of the captivity (*ha-Gōlah*)'.

Ezra vi. 21; here three categories appear: a distinction is made between the children of Israel, who had come from exile; those who had separated themselves 'from the filthiness of the heathen of the land'; and the heathen of the land.

Now when we turn to the books of *Haggai* and *Zechariah* we find that, while the expression 'the people of the land' refers to those Jews who had not been in exile, they are not regarded as hostile to the Jews, nor are they represented as impure either racially or religiously.

In Hag. ii. 2-4 occur the two expressions 'the remnant of the people', referring to the returned exiles under Zerubbabel, as well as 'the people of the land' in reference to those who had not been in exile; *both* bodies are indiscriminately encouraged by the prophet to persevere in the building of the Temple; there is, therefore, no thought of the latter being hostile to the returned exiles; both are on an entire equality. The important point to realize is that, so far as the building of the Temple is concerned, it is clear that Haggai addresses himself, in the first instance, *not* to the returned exiles, but to those who had been living in the land. The prophet quotes them, speaking of them as 'this people', to this effect: 'It is not yet the time for the building of the house of Yahweh.' He then reproaches them with the words: 'Is it a time for you yourselves to dwell in your cieled houses, while this house lieth waste?' It is obvious that he is not addressing the returned exiles who had only just arrived, and could not, therefore, have had houses of their own; similarly, when the prophet continues: 'Ye have sown much, and bring in little', there had been no time yet for the returned exiles to sow anything; so that the long-settled people in the land are being addressed. It is only *after* this that 'the remnant of the people' (i. 12), i.e. the returned exiles, join in the building.

Haggai, then, does not see any difference racially or religiously between the 'people of the land' and 'the remnant of the people'; nor does he hint at any ill-feeling on the part of one towards the other. It is the same with Zechariah. Instructive in this connexion is Zech. vii. 1-7, where 'the people of the land', together with the priests, are addressed by the prophet without the slightest idea of antagonism; true, he denounces their want of sincerity and single-heartedness in the religious observance of fasting; but this is precisely what the earlier prophets, to whom reference is made (verse 7), had always done.

Finally, there is a passage in the book of *Ezra* about which a word must be said; this is iv 1-5:

'Now when the adversaries of Judah and Benjamin heard that the children of the captivity builded a temple unto Yahweh, the God of Israel; then they drew near to Zerubbabel, and to the heads of the fathers' houses, and said unto them, Let us build with you: for we seek your God, as ye do; and we do sacrifice unto him since the days of Esar-haddon king of Assyria, which brought us up hither. But Zerubbabel, and Joshua, and the rest of the heads of the fathers' houses of Israel, said unto them, Ye have nothing to do with us to build an house unto our God; but we ourselves together will build unto Yahweh, the God of Israel, as king Cyrus the king of Persia, hath commanded us. Then the people of the land weakened the hands of the people of Judah, and troubled them in building, and hired counsellors against them, to frustrate their purpose, all the days of Cyrus king of Persia, even until the reign of Darius king of Persia.' (Cf. *Greek Ezra* iv. 43-57.)

Apart from some minor points there are two facts regarding this passage which stamp it as unhistorical: (1) there is not the slightest hint in the books of *Haggai* and *Zechariah* that any difficulties were placed in the way of the rebuilding of the Temple; if anything of the kind had happened it is certain that these reliable writers would have had something to say about it; (2) it is assumed that this took place during the reign of Cyrus (verse 3, 'as Cyrus . . . commanded us', which, in any case, he did not do; he only gave permission, even according to the Chronicler, see *Ezra* i. 2-4), whereas Zerubbabel and Joshua appear only in the reign of Darius I. Moreover, Cyrus had shown himself very friendly to the Jews; during his reign there would certainly not have been any hindering of the building; the mention of his name ('to frustrate their purpose, all the days of Cyrus') is particularly *gauche*. It is also worth noting that 'the adversaries' are spoken of, yet the narrative goes on to describe a most friendly act on their part in the offer to help in the building. Further, these 'adversaries' (i.e. they and their forefathers) are represented as worshipping Yahweh only since the days of Esar-haddon who 'brought us up hither'; this, as we shall see (see p. 150), is a quite unjustified aspersion, put into their mouths by the Chronicler, or one of his school, in whose day the bitterness between Jews and Samaritans had resulted in a final cleavage; as a matter of fact, the aliens who

had been brought in had long since been absorbed by the indigenous Israelites.¹

It must be recognized that the Chronicler had a twofold purpose in putting in this section; the first has already been mentioned, viz. his hatred of the 'Samaritans'; it was abhorrent to him to think that they should have had anything to do with the building of the Temple; so he composes this episode in order to show that they had no share in it. The other reason was to try to account for his contradictory statements that the building was begun in 538 B.C. and *ceased* till 520 B.C. (iv. 24), and that it was begun in 538 B.C. and *continued* till 520 B.C., and was yet not completed (v. 16). The two statements are, of course, not reconciled by this, but at least it accounted for the fact that having been begun in 538 B.C., according to him, it was still unfinished in 520 B.C.

The true facts of the case, as witnessed to by Haggai and Zechariah, are that the 'people of the land' began the building of the Temple, and were soon joined by the returned exiles. But this fact, that the 'people of the land', and not the returned exiles, took the initiative in the building, is important in view of what will be said later about the Samaritans.

3. SUGGESTED HISTORICAL RECONSTRUCTION

We have seen that in the Cyrus decree, in both its forms, the main object of the return of the exiles is represented as being the rebuilding of the Temple; in one of the forms of this decree specific mention is made of the foundation (Ezra vi. 3). The Chronicler, as already pointed out, records that the foundation was laid in the second year after the Return, i.e. 537 B.C. (Ezra iii. 8); on the other hand, Hag. i. 1-15 is quite as definite in making it take place in the second year of Darius, i.e. 520 B.C. To complicate matters the Chronicler says in one place that because 'adversaries' hindered the building it ceased until the second year of Darius (Ezra iv. 1-5, 24), while elsewhere he says that the Temple had been in building from the time that Sheshbazzar laid the foundation (537 B.C.) until the second year of Darius (520 B.C.), 'and yet it is not completed' (Ezra v. 16).

In face of these contradictory statements in the sources themselves, any conclusion arrived at as to what the actual sequence

¹ See below. pp. 146 ff.

of events may have been must be of a tentative character; but we suggest that what happened was as follows:

A decree permitting the return of the exiles was issued by Cyrus; it contained nothing but this permission. The exiles returned in 537 B.C., under the leadership of Sheshbazzar. They found the Temple still standing, though in a dilapidated condition; but the altar stood where it had always stood, and sacrifices were offered. The type of worship, judging from the last we hear of it from Jeremiah and Ezekiel, left much to be desired; but Yahweh, the God of Israel, was worshipped, however debased the worship may have been through the admixture of alien cults. The exiles, on their return, joined with their compatriots, who had been living in Palestine all along, in worshipping in the dilapidated Temple; the latter were for the most part too poor to renovate it, and those of the land who had any wealth had become accustomed to worship there, and saw no reason to alter things, while the returned exiles were too busy earning a living to think of anything else; the wealthier exiles had remained in Babylonia, as we have seen. This continued for a number of years. The religion of Israel, though disfigured with extraneous growths, was thus kept alive; but the worship was uninspiring, the religious spirit was lethargic. Life continued, therefore, very much as it had done in Palestine during the preceding decades.

But, as the whole history of Israel has taught us, a period of religious deadness never lasts for long; sooner or later an enthusiast, prophet or reformer, arises to inspire and invigorate. Now, the real religious centre of Jewry, as we know, was Babylon; intercourse between Palestine and Babylon was kept up; so that conditions in Palestine were well known in Babylon. Why, during all those years between 537 B.C., when the first return under Sheshbazzar took place, and 520 B.C., no steps had been taken by the religious leaders among the Jews in Babylon to do something to better religious conditions in Palestine must probably have been due to the fact that the moving spirit was wanting. But at the beginning of the reign of Darius I the right leaders appeared in the persons of Haggai and Zechariah; with Zerubbabel, whom, we must assume, they designated as political leader, and Joshua, the priest, they led another band of Jews back from Babylonia to Palestine. Whether permission was obtained for this, of which an echo is found in the Darius decree

of Ezra vi. 1-12, we are not prepared either to affirm or to deny; but assuredly there would have been no need for it; in the state of ferment in which the various kingdoms composing the Babylonian empire were at this time, who would have noticed, or who would have cared if they had noticed, the departure of a handful of Jews to another province of the empire?

We have assumed, although it is nowhere so stated, that the prophets Haggai and Zechariah were sons of the Exile, and came from Babylonia. In the case of Haggai, the passage ii. 10-14¹ of his book stamps him so clearly as belonging to that circle of priests and scribes who were busy with the work which ultimately took the form of what we call the Priestly Code, that no further proof can be needed to show that he came from Babylonia. In the case of Zechariah, there are several passages in his book which indirectly suggest it;² but the way in which he and Haggai are mentioned together is presumptive evidence that if one came from Babylon the other did. This, however, is a subsidiary detail.

Haggai and Zechariah were, then, the type of men required to arouse religious enthusiasm. They accomplished their purpose; and the foundation of the Temple was laid in the second year of Darius (Hag. i. 15: 520 B.C.), and completed in his sixth year (Ezra vi. 15: 516 B.C.).

Most of what has been said is, of course, common knowledge, and is generally accepted; but there is one question to which an answer will be demanded: What justification is there for the statement that the Temple was still standing when the exiles returned? The answer to this is as follows:

The destruction of Jerusalem is described in 2 Kgs. xxv. 9, where it is said that Nebuzaradan 'burnt the house of Yahweh, and the king's house, and all the houses of Jerusalem, even every great house, burnt he with fire' (see also Jer. lii. 13). One has but to picture the scene to oneself to realize that, while everything within these buildings of an inflammable character would be consumed, there would still be left those parts which the fire might damage, but not destroy, i.e. the walls of these 'great

¹ Some commentators, but they are in a minority, regard ii. 10-19 as of different authorship; this is, no doubt, true of verses 15-17, but otherwise the section, as held by the majority of authorities, is a genuine part of the book.

² He was a grandson of Iddo (i. 1) who, according to Neh. xii. 4, was one of the priests who returned from Babylon; see also xii. 16.

houses' and especially of the Temple. It is expressly mentioned that the walls of the city were broken down (2 Kgs. xxv. 10), but there would be no point in breaking down the walls of the Temple; loot rather than destruction, excepting in regard to the city walls,¹ is what would appeal to the soldiery. So that when we speak of the destruction of the Temple we must think of everything in the interior, but not necessarily of the structure, which would doubtless receive damage, but would still be standing; and thus the sanctified enclosure, with its altar, still existed. And this explains how, two months after the sack of the city (see 2 Kgs. xxv. 8, the 'fifth month', and Jer. xli. 1, the 'seventh month'), it could be said that pilgrims from Shechem, Shiloh, and Samaria brought 'oblations and frankincense in their hand to bring them to the house of Yahweh' (Jer. xli. 4, 5). Against this it cannot be argued that these pilgrims were bringing their offerings in ignorance of what had occurred; because, for one thing, such an event as the fall of Jerusalem could not remain unknown for two months in what was, after all, a small area; but more important is the fact that they came with signs of grief, 'having their beards shaven and their clothes rent, and having cut themselves'; clearly they were coming as mourners to give concrete expression to their sorrow on the very site of spoliation. The offerings were brought according to custom, because it was the time for the celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles; though now the feast was turned into mourning. That they came from what had been the northern kingdom is an interesting fact to which we shall have occasion to refer again.

Further, it has been already pointed out that it was not the bulk of the people who were led away into exile; a large proportion were left in Palestine, and within a few years of the second deportation, in 586 B.C., there must have gathered together a considerable population in Jerusalem; it is unreasonable to suppose that during the, approximately, half-century which followed, these people would have refrained from using the traditional place of worship in their midst. That an altar was set up there we have seen; without doubt, the Temple was in a more or less ruined state; but the people would not have had the means to do more than what was absolutely necessary

¹ But there is reason to believe that the city walls were only damaged in parts; below, see p. 126.

in the way of renovating it; and, in course of time, they would get accustomed to this state of things; when all was said and done, they worshipped on the sacred site.

But what appears to us as the most convincing argument is that there are a number of passages in our sources which take for granted that the Temple *was* still standing by the end of the Exile. In Hag. i. 4 the prophet asks: 'Is it a time for you yourselves to dwell in your cieled houses, while this house lieth waste?' So that if the prophet can refer to 'this house' it must have been in existence, though dilapidated; it is the same in Hag. i. 9, 'mine house lieth waste', cp. verse 14. From the words of Hag. ii. 3, 'who is left among you that saw this house in its former glory? and how do ye see it now? is it not in your eyes as nothing?' it must be obvious that the Temple was still standing, for how could the prophet make this comparison otherwise? Moreover, we can see from ii. 14 (the date is in the second year of Darius) that the sacrificial system was being carried on: '... that which they offer there is unclean.'

Again, in Zech. vii. 1-7 we read of certain people coming to seek advice from 'the priests of the house of Yahweh Zebaoth' (verse 3); this obviously takes for granted that worship was carried on in the Temple. When, further, it is said in the preceding verse that these people had come 'to entreat the favour of Yahweh', it is certain that the sacrificial system in some form was in vogue, for it was not permitted to appear before Yahweh empty (Exod. xxiii. 15, xxxiv. 20). Yet this episode is dated as taking place in the fourth year of Darius, i.e. two years *before* the completion of the new work that had been undertaken of repairing the Temple.

Once more, from Hag. i. 12 it is seen that not even the High-priest Joshua had any thought of rebuilding the Temple until urged to do so by Haggai; but where had he been officiating during the preceding weeks if not in the Temple, such as it was?

Even in the book of *Ezra* there are some passages in which the Chronicler betrays himself by showing that he takes for granted that the Temple is still standing; thus, in i. 4 he makes Cyrus refer to 'the free-will offering for the house of God which is in Jerusalem'; this was before the Return had taken place! Again in iii. 8: 'Now in the second year of their coming unto the house of God at Jerusalem . . .', it is, on the face of it, taken

for granted that the Temple is in existence. And there are probably some other passages which suggest the same thing.

A final point is not without importance: it will be seen when we come later to the subject of the mixed marriages about which both Nehemiah and Ezra, but especially the latter, felt so strongly, that the priests were not very zealous for what these two considered racial purity; nor do we find that the priests were anxious to drive away the 'strangers'; why was this? We believe the answer is that during the whole of the exilic period the priests in Palestine had been officiating in the Temple, in spite of its bad condition, and that they had thus all along been in contact with the people of the land of Judah, as well as with those farther north who came to Jerusalem to worship. Under such conditions how could they feel any enmity towards the Samaritans?

We are thus led to the conclusion that when the exiles returned from Babylon they found the Temple still standing, but in a dilapidated state; in spite of this, however, the worship of Yahweh was being carried on and the sacrifices were being offered on the sacred site where they always had been offered.

The fact is that the Chronicler, with his very ecclesiastical bent and his profound veneration for everything that had to do with the Temple and its services, could not conceive of the first exiles being other than zealous in their desire to renovate the ruined Temple immediately on their return; this, as he believed, the returned exiles would have regarded as their most pressing duty. For him a ruined Temple was no Temple. The Chronicler, therefore, coloured the sources which he utilized in compiling his history in accordance with this theory, even going the length of putting his thoughts into the copy of the decree of Cyrus to which he had access.

Chapter IX

AFTER THE REBUILDING OF THE TEMPLE

(516 B.C.—444 B.C.).

SUMMARY

[The last date given in the records of the history so far considered is 516 B.C.; the next one which comes before us is 444 B.C. There is thus, as it would seem, a considerable gap in the historical sequence, for in our main sources, the books of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, nothing is told of the history during these intervening seventy-two years. It is contended, however, that there are certain passages occurring elsewhere in the Old Testament which give some insight into the historical conditions during this otherwise dark period. While recognizing that there are differences of opinion on the subject, it is held that some passages contained in Isa. lvi—lxvi, and most of the book of *Malachi*, were written after the rebuilding of the Temple in 516 B.C., but before the time of Nehemiah and Ezra, i.e. before 444 B.C. On the assumption that these parts of Scripture belong to this period we may gather some details regarding the religious and social condition of the Palestinian Jews at this time. The returned exiles were living on perfectly amicable terms with their brethren who had all along been living in the land; there was, as yet, but little wealth among the returned exiles, though the people of the land no doubt had among their number some who were in better circumstances. The Temple services were celebrated according to custom; and the people were not molested by outside enemies.

In course of time, however, the good influence which Zechariah and his following may be presumed to have exercised began to wane; religious observances tended to become more and more unreal and formal; those who had been able to acquire wealth among the people began to take advantage of their less fortunate brethren; the corruption of justice, low morals, and even blood-guiltiness seem to have become prevalent. On the other hand, it is evident that a faithful minority made its presence felt.

A question of some importance arises in connexion with the theocracy during this period. From some passages in the books of *Haggai* and *Zechariah* it is seen that the expectation of the establishment of the Messianic kingdom in the immediate future was rife; and this in the form of a monarchy ruled over by one of the Davidic line. The attempt is, however, made to show that ever since the time of the prophet Hosea there had been those who disfavoured the idea of the monarchy, but championed that of a theocratic state. There are grounds for believing that during the period with

which we are dealing those who held these opposing views came to grips, and that the champions of the belief in a theocratic state won the day. This seems to be the only way of accounting for the fact that, while Haggai and Zechariah looked forward to the re-establishment of the Davidic monarchy, by the time that Nehemiah appeared upon the scene the theocratic state is seen to be a settled institution.]

I. THE JEWS IN PALESTINE DURING THE YEARS 516-444 B.C.

WE have seen that the rebuilding of the Temple was completed under the inspiration and guidance of Haggai and Zechariah in 516 B.C. The next precise date contained in our records is in Ezra vii. 7, 8, where mention is made of the fifth month of the seventh year of Artaxerxes the king; this is in reference to Ezra's return from Babylon to Jerusalem. It is not said which Artaxerxes it was in whose reign this took place. The date of the first Persian king of this name was 464-424 B.C., that of the second Artaxerxes was 404-358 B.C.; so that, according as to which of these two rulers this passage is intended to refer, the date will be either 457 B.C. or 397 B.C. Another precise date is given in Neh. ii. 1, where mention is made of the month Nisan (the first month) in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes;¹ this is in reference to Nehemiah's return from Shushan² to Palestine; but, as in the previous case, it is not said which Artaxerxes is meant; if it was the first king of this name the date would be 444 B.C., if the second, then the date would be 384 B.C. To the question of these dates we shall have to return later.³ But, even if either of these dates refers to Artaxerxes I, it will be seen that there is a considerable gap in the history from the time of the previous date which is mentioned (516 B.C.), a silence regarding a period of seventy-two years.

¹ It is worth noting that there is a slight difference in the spelling of Artaxerxes which is uniformly observed; in the first part of *Ezra* (i-vi) it is always spelt in one way, while elsewhere it is always spelt in another way, viz. in *Ezra* iv. 7, 8, 11, 23; vi. 14 it is always אֲרַתְשֶׁרְשָׁא, while in *Ezra* vii. 1, 7, 11, 12, 21; viii. 1; Neh. ii. 1; v. 14; xiii. 6, it is always אֲרַתְשֶׁרְשָׁא; small as the difference is, the uniformity observed in each part respectively must be intentional, and it almost looks as though the two kings of this name were intended to be distinguished in this way.

² i.e. Susa, the winter residence of the Persian kings, according to Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, XIII. v. 22.

³ See pp. 117f.

The problem we are here faced with is to decide whether any data are to be gathered from the Old Testament which may throw light on the history during these years, or which give some insight into the condition of the Jews in Palestine. The books of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, in which we should reasonably expect to find some details, give us no information which can be relied upon; but it seems highly probable that some other Old Testament books contain sections which were written within this period, and which, therefore, give us some knowledge of the circumstances and general condition of the people during that time.

These passages are contained in the third portion of the book of *Isaiah* (lvi–lxvi) and in the book of *Malachi*; but to give detailed reasons why it is held that they belong to the period 516–444 B.C. would be out of place here;¹ assuming, however, with a large body of expert opinion on the subject, that this is the case, we may gather from them the following data regarding the state of affairs among the Palestinian Jews at this time.

During the years immediately following the rebuilding of the Temple, if we may judge from Isa. lvi. 1–8, the returned exiles were living in quiet circumstances, observing the practice of their religion under the guidance of teachers well versed in the Law: ‘Keep ye judgement, and do righteousness.’ They were living at peace not only with those of their brethren who had been settled down in the land before them, but also with the ‘strangers’ who had not belonged to the covenant of Israel, but who had learned ‘to love the name of Yahweh’ and to be his servants. All are regarded as on an equal religious footing. They are looking forward to the advent of a further contingent of the exiles from Babylonia; ‘the Lord God which gathereth the outcasts of Israel saith, Yet will I gather others to him, beside his own that are gathered.’

But while, as a whole, the community are living a God-fearing life, there are already signs of the presence of some who are causing unrest; ‘the wicked are like the troubled sea’ (Isa. lvii. 20).

Then, however, as time goes on, it is evident that the influence which Zechariah had exercised, especially his teaching of the presence of Yahweh in the midst of his people (Zech. ii. 5, 10), was beginning to wane, for, though the observance of the

¹ They are dealt with in Additional Note B at the end of this chapter.

outward forms of religion is strongly in evidence, it is merely formal, and sincerity is wanting, and a contentious spirit is abroad (Isa. lviii. 9). Some details are, moreover, given which hint at a grave cleavage among the grades of society; there is oppression of the poor on the part of the more wealthy; among the former there is hunger and want; they are even lacking in proper clothing for their bodies, and many seem to have no settled place of abode. The words, 'that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh', do not, in all probability, refer to the members of a man's family, but rather to some of the returned exiles who were in dire want, but who looked in vain for help from their wealthier brethren. But oppression of the poor and cynical indifference to the sufferings of others were not the only charges brought by the prophet against certain sections of the people; from Isa. lix. 1-15 (excluding verses 5-8) it would seem that there was an increase of lawlessness as time went on, and a melancholy state of society is revealed in verses 3, 4, where blood-guiltiness is spoken of, and corruption of justice is prevalent, together with a low standard of morals (see also Mal. ii. 14-16, iii. 7, 15). This, however, is by no means universal, for it is clear from the words of Mal. iii. 16 that there were those who were faithful to the higher ideals championed by the prophet, an 'inner community of those who feared Yahweh and spoke often one to another'.¹

Thus, although there is not very much to go upon, the general impression gained is that of a self-contained community, unmolested by outside foes, excepting towards the very end of the period, enjoying full religious freedom, and suffering no disabilities from the suzerain power. Within the community, however, there is a gradual deterioration of both the moral and religious standard; and the reason for this is not far to seek; for while religious teachers were not wanting, there was no leader of sufficiently outstanding personality to influence and guide the people. Indeed, had it not been for that 'inner community' referred to in Mal. iii. 16, it is difficult to see how true religion could have survived. It is evident from such a passage as, e.g. Neh. i, that the knowledge of this deterioration was a contributory cause which induced such men as Nehemiah and, later, Ezra to return to Palestine with the object of seeking to bring about a better state of affairs among their people.

¹ Wheeler Robinson, *The Cross of the Servant*, p. 38 (1926).

2. THE THEOCRACY

There is one other subject that demands some consideration here. The concluding verses of the book of *Haggai* indicate quite clearly the prophet's conviction that Zerubbabel is the Messianic ruler. After describing, in ii. 22, the destruction of the Gentiles, preliminary to the beginning of the Messianic Era, the prophet concludes with the words: 'In that day, saith Yahweh Zebaoth, will I take thee, O Zerubbabel, my servant, the son of Shealtiel, saith Yahweh, and will make thee as a signet; for I have chosen thee, saith Yahweh Zebaoth'. The thrice-reiterated 'saith Yahweh' is intended to emphasize the certainty of what the prophet proclaims. In the Davidic genealogy given in 1 Chron. iii. 1-24 Zerubbabel is of the seed of David (verse 19); so that what the prophet here declares is that a ruler belonging to the house of David is once more about to sit on the throne of Judah. This is also proclaimed by the prophet Zechariah: 'For, behold, I will bring forth my servant the Branch' (Zech. iii. 8); the 'Branch', *Zemach*, is a proper name applied to the Messianic king, which the prophet borrowed from Jer. xxiii. 5, xxxiii. 15; the idea underlying the name is that of a 'shoot' issuing from the Davidic tree (cp. Ps. cxxxii. 17: 'I will make the horn of David to bud', the horn being symbolic of strength). Again, in Zech. vi. 12, 13 it is said: 'Thus speaketh Yahweh Zebaoth, saying, Behold, the man whose name is the Branch! And from under him it shall sprout;¹ and he shall build the Temple of Yahweh; and he shall bear the glory, and shall sit and rule upon his throne.'² It is true, in neither of these passages is Zerubbabel mentioned by name; but that he is meant does not admit of doubt in view of Hag. ii. 23, Zech. iv. 6-10. On the other hand, the theocratic idea is not wholly absent in Zechariah, since he contemplates the actual presence of Yahweh among his people (ii. 5, 10-12). At any rate, it is as clear as possible that Haggai and Zechariah looked for the re-establishment of the monarchy. But with them the whole idea ceases.

We must now, as briefly as possible, follow out another

¹ The R.V. rendering, 'and he shall grow up out of his place', does not quite bring out the meaning of the Hebrew; the word for 'he shall grow up'—from the same root as the word for 'Branch'—is impersonal; and 'out of his place' should be 'from under him', i.e. from the root, namely, of the tree of David.

² On this passage see further below, p. 152, note 1.

conception of the kingship, for the beginnings of which we have to go a long way back, but this is necessary if we are to get a clear picture of one of the most interesting and important thought-movements among Israel's thinkers; one, too, which had a most profound effect on the post-exilic history of the Jews.

In the whole history of the Hebrew monarchies there was never a period during which the kingship showed to less advantage than between the years 743 B.C. and 722 B.C., i.e. from the death of Jeroboam II to the fall of the northern kingdom. Within these twenty-one years six kings reigned, not one of whom could be said to have been a credit to his high office: Zechariah, Shallum, Menahem, Pekahiah, Pekah, Hoshea; four of these kings met with a violent death. Hoshea was carried away captive to Assyria; Menahem alone seems to have died in peace. For a considerable part of this period the prophet Hosea lived and worked in the northern kingdom. Though in times past the kingship had been looked upon as an institution sanctioned and blessed by Yahweh, Hosea, nevertheless, dates the beginning of Israel's decline from the rise of the monarchy. He says in x. 9 of his book: 'O Israel, thou hast sinned from the time of Gibeah' (cp. ix. 9). The reference here is to the election of Saul as king; Gibeah was Saul's home, and thus the place whence Israel's first king came (1 Sam. x. 26, xi. 4, xiii. 16, xiv. 2, xv. 34, &c.).¹ Again, in Hos. vii. 7 it is said: 'All their kings are fallen; there is none among them that calleth upon me'; the prophet, as the context shows, is referring to the kings of Israel. He scornfully asks: 'Where is now thy king that he may save thee in all thy cities? And thy judges of whom thou saidest, Give me a king and princes? I have given thee a king in mine anger, and have taken him away in my wrath' (xiii. 10, 11, cp. viii. 4); and he recalls the time when the people acknowledged no other god nor any other ruler than Yahweh (xiii. 4, 5). Hosea's attitude towards the monarchy is quite comprehensible, for in his day it was really powerless and incapable of fulfilling its duties. The country was torn by factions, none of which possessed a leader strong enough to become a ruler in any real sense of the word; seizing the throne by violence, one king after another succumbed, having no capacity for ruling, and energetic only in tyranny. In these circumstances the conviction comes

¹ The Targum states that it was in Gibeah that the monarchy originated.

upon Hosea that the whole fabric of the State is rotten from the head downwards, and that the monarchy is an insult to God, who should be the only ruler as at the first. Thus the idea of the theocracy first appears in the teaching of Hosea, as he is also the first to declare the foundation of the monarchy to be an act of national sin.

A century passed, during which nothing is heard of the theocratic idea. The monarchy continued in the southern kingdom; but that the thought of the theocracy had not died out may be seen by the kind of compromise put forth in *Deuteronomy*; a king there may be, but only one whom Yahweh shall choose; this occurs in Deut. xvii. 14, 15: 'When thou art come into the land which Yahweh thy God giveth thee, and shalt possess it, and shalt dwell therein; and shalt say, I will set a king over me, like as all the nations that are round about me; thou shalt in any wise set him king over thee whom Yahweh thy God shall choose . . .' This comes from a prophetic source and, while it is recognized that the monarchy must still continue, the condition laid down that the king must be God's choice shows that the theocratic idea, in a modified way it is true, is there. This receives a further modification at the hands of Ezekiel; the essence of what is contained in Ezek. xxxiv—xlviii,¹ so far as our present subject is concerned, centres in the words of xxxiv. 23, 24: 'And I will set up one shepherd over them, and he shall feed them, even my servant David; he shall feed them, and he shall be their shepherd. And I, Yahweh, will be their God, and my servant David prince among them; I, Yahweh, have spoken it.' Here, it will be seen, the king has disappeared altogether; his place is taken by a 'prince' (*nasi*), whose function is that of a shepherd, i.e. a spiritual ruler; and he is to be of the house of David, God's 'servant'. In other words, we have here the picture of a Davidic Messiah, who is God's viceroy.² The final step in the theocratic idea appears in Deutero-Isaiah; nowhere does he ever make mention of either king or prince; Yahweh, and Yahweh alone, is the ruler of his people. Thus in Isa. xl. 10, 11 it is said: 'Behold, the Lord will come as a mighty one, and his arm shall rule for him; behold, his reward is with

¹ There is much difference of opinion regarding various portions of this long section; we are, however, only concerned with the teaching there given of the particular subject under consideration.

² For his functions see further Ezek. xlv. 16, 17, xlv. 16-18; this latter passage shows clearly that the 'prince' is a temporal ruler.

him, and his recompense before him. He shall feed his flock like a shepherd, he shall gather the lambs in his arm and shall carry them in his bosom, and shall gently lead those that give suck'; see also liv. 11-17, and elsewhere. In xli. 21 God is spoken of as 'the king of Jacob', in xliv. 6 as 'the king of Israel', and in xli. 14, 16 as 'the Holy One of Israel'. Here we have, therefore, the Theocracy in the fullest sense of the word.

This brief survey, then, shows how by degrees the thought of the monarchy was eliminated; and therefore it is the more remarkable that both Haggai and Zechariah should be definitely proclaiming the resuscitation of the Davidic monarchy. The fact can be explained only on the supposition that during the Exile, and even after, there were those among the Jews who held fast by the monarchical idea and looked forward to the re-establishment of the kingship in the house of David. During the long period following the time of these two prophets, a period of which so little is recorded, we do get, at any rate, one glimpse as to how the opposing monarchical and theocratic ideas were proceeding, for in Mal. iii. 1 it is said: 'The Lord whom ye seek shall suddenly come to his temple'. There is at first sight an ambiguity here, for 'the Lord' ('*Adon*') might apply to the Messiah; in the context 'Yahweh' is used when God is referred to. But it is more probable that the writer has Zech. ii. 10, 11 in mind, and that 'the Lord' refers to Yahweh. In this case the theocratic idea has wholly displaced that of the monarchy, and we can, therefore, fully understand that when the history becomes clearer, with Nehemiah, there is never the slightest reference to the kingship.

A further indication of this is to be observed in the hand of a scribe who has modified the text of Zech. vi. 11; as it stands it reads: 'yea, take silver and gold and make crowns,¹ and set (them) upon the head of Joshua the son of Jehozadak, the High priest'; everything in the book points to Zerubbabel, the Messiah, as the one for whom the crown was destined (cp. also Hag. ii. 20-23); the name of 'Joshua the son of Jehozadak, the High-priest' was clearly inserted in place of 'Zerubbabel' at a later time when the priest was at the head of a theocratic government. Some other corruptions in the context point to the same thing.

Haggai and Zechariah were, therefore, the last to support

¹ The plural is perhaps an accidental error.

the monarchical idea; and if we are right in believing that there was during the Exile and for some time after a strong anti-monarchical feeling among a large section of the Jews, the fact is sufficient to explain the disappearance of the kingship, without supposing that outside interference had brought this about.

Additional Note B

ISAIAH LVI—LXVI AND THE BOOK OF MALACHI

IT is inevitable that the opinions of scholars should differ in regard to the dates of the passages, referred to in the preceding chapter, which, as we believe, are to be assigned to the period 516–444 B.C.; and, when there is something to be said both for and against any particular view, dogmatism is out of place.

The effort must, however, be made to show that there are certain passages in Isa. lvi—lxvi and the book of *Malachi*, the contents of which seem to justify the belief that they belong somewhere within the period indicated.

ISAIAH LVI—LXVI

That unity of authorship cannot be claimed for these chapters is coming to be more and more widely recognized. Into the intricate arguments for and against this view we cannot enter here. It will suffice for our purpose if it can be reasonably shown that the contents of some passages which have been incorporated point to their belonging to the period under consideration, and are not easily to be assigned to any other. Attention may be drawn, in passing, to the way in which, as the Hebrew text shows, independent pieces have been unskilfully welded together, as can be seen, e.g., in lvii. 13, 14, lix. 15, though this is not necessarily indicative of diverse authorship. When once, however, it is recognized that these chapters contain a variety of independent pieces, then the *possibility* of diverse authorship is no longer excluded. But the main argument for this is concerned with the different conditions reflected in the various self-contained pieces, pointing to different periods; when to this is added diverse points of view, we reach the stage of the *probability* of diverse authorship. Variety of subject-matter in sections which follow one another consecutively as the text now stands must also be taken into consideration.

It will be necessary, then, first to make a brief examination of the various literary pieces which are comprised in Isa. lvi—lxvi ('Trito-Isaiah') in order to see which of them may reasonably be regarded as belonging to the period 516–444 B.C., and then to take a brief glance at the book of *Malachi*.

The earliest portions within these chapters belong to the eve of the Return, and might therefore be regarded as Deutero-Isaianic. We will deal with these first.

These exilic pieces are two in number: lvii. 14–21 and lx—lxiii. 6. In lvii. 14 occur the words: 'Cast ye up, cast ye up, prepare the way; take up the stumbling-block out of the way of my people.' This is parallel to Isa. xl. 3, 4, where the voice cries: 'Prepare ye in the

wilderness the highway . . .', i.e. God is about to lead His people back from exile, therefore a highway straight through the wilderness is to be prepared. 'Cast ye up . . .' refers to the piling up of the soil to make a solid road. The passage is not only marked by the diction of Deutero-Isaiah, but it also breathes his spirit.¹

The main reason for regarding lx—lxiii. 6, which, though consisting of several sections is, nevertheless, a literary unity (excepting possibly lxiii. 1–6), as belonging to the eve of the Return, is again the diction and spirit of Deutero-Isaiah which it exhibits. But there are also some special passages which point to this date. Thus, in lx. 1, the words: 'Arise, shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of Yahweh is risen upon thee', are addressed to Zion; with the return of the exiles, which is impending, Zion will rejoice in her former glory; see also lx. 7–10. Further, the present desolation of Jerusalem and the near approach of its glorification (lx. 15) can refer only to the near return of God's people. The whole of lxi is full of thoughts of the coming renovation which is to be the result of the return of the exiles: 'And they shall build the old waste places, they shall raise up the former desolations, and they shall repair the waste cities, the desolations of many generations . . .' (lxi. 4–9). It would be difficult to point to any period in regard to which such words as these would be appropriate other than the eve of the Return. The same is true of chapter lxii; to give but one illustration: 'Thou shalt no more be termed Forsaken; neither shall thy land any more be termed Desolate . . .' (verse 4).

The section lxiii. 1–6 occasions more difficulty; but such a passage as verse 4: 'For the day of vengeance is in my heart, the year of my redeemed is come', may well point to the end of the Exile.

These passages, then, as belonging, in all probability, to a time shortly before the Return, we leave aside.

All the remaining pieces comprised within Isa. lvi—lxvi, with two exceptions, may be assigned to the period 516–444 B.C., i.e. after the Temple had been rebuilt, but before Nehemiah arrived to begin his work. These pieces must be briefly examined in order to indicate the reasons for believing them to belong to this period.

lvi. 1–8 is a self-contained literary piece, quite independent of what precedes or follows. That it was written after the Temple had been rebuilt is clear from verse 5: 'Unto them will I give in mine house and within my walls a memorial and a name better than that of sons and daughters . . .'; and from verse 7: ' . . . even them will I

¹ Some commentators hold that lvii. 14–21 is slightly later than the Exile, the words 'Peace, peace, to him that is far off and to him that is near' (verse 19) being thought to refer to some still in exile and to some who had already returned. There is certainly something in this, but the words could just as well have been spoken during the Exile, 'him that is far off' referring to the Jews in Palestine.

bring to my holy mountain, and make them joyful in my house of prayer; their burnt offerings and their sacrifices shall be accepted upon mine altar; for mine house shall be called an house of prayer for all people.' The universalistic note struck in this passage (cp. also verses 6 and 8) is so different from the narrow outlook characteristic of Nehemiah's attitude that it must belong to a time before his régime held sway.

Regarding lvi. 9—lvii. 13 we must confess there is uncertainty; there is nothing to show that the Temple had been rebuilt, nor yet that it belongs to a time after this; that is not even indirectly referred to. But the reason why it must be post-exilic is that it was written in Palestine; this is clear from lvii. 4–8.¹ The whole section speaks of the idolatrous worship of a part of the people, and from what we know of the work of Nehemiah it is certain that he would not have tolerated this. It must, therefore, have been written either before Nehemiah's time, or after the time of Ezra, i.e. after 397, when the influence of those two leaders had waned among certain sections of the people.

Chapter lviii is again a self-contained piece. That the Temple has been rebuilt is clear from verse 2: 'Yet they seek me daily and delight to know my ways . . . they delight to draw near unto God'; that presupposes the Temple worship. From verse 12 we can see that the city walls had not yet been repaired: 'And they that are of thee shall build the old waste places; thou shalt raise up the foundations of many generations; and thou shalt be called the repairer of the breach, the restorer of the paths to dwell in.' This points clearly to a time before the days of Nehemiah. That the section offers no signs of Nehemiah's work and influence points in the same direction.

Chapter lix is a combination of two pieces: 1–15^a and 15^b–21; the spirit and subject-matter of each are too distinctive for them to belong together, though they have been combined by a later scribe. In verses 3, 4 we get a description of violence and lawlessness among, at any rate, some sections of the people of which, so far as we know, there was no parallel in the days of Nehemiah.² In verses 9–15, again, we get a note of confession of a somewhat liturgical character, which raises the possibility of this portion belonging to a later time when a more developed liturgy had come into being. So that some uncertainty attaches to the date of this piece.

Chapters lxx and lxxi have many features in common; that the Temple has been rebuilt is indicated in lxx. 11 and lxxi. 6; but, again, there is nothing to show that Nehemiah had as yet been at work; indeed, rather the contrary, for forms of idolatrous worship

¹ The way in which the religious leaders are spoken of (lvi. 9–12) is hardly compatible with a pre-exilic date.

² There are good grounds for believing that verses 5–8 belong to an altogether later period.

are mentioned (lxv. 2-5, 11, lxvi. 17), which would not have been tolerated by him.

Finally, we have the section lxiii. 7—lxiv. 12, regarding the date of which there are probably half-a-dozen different opinions. Where the data are not decisive, objections may be legitimately raised against any contention as to date; and the same will doubtless apply to the view here put forward; nevertheless, we venture to believe that this piece belongs to the end of the period in question (516-444 B.C.), and reflects the circumstances which were the immediate occasion for Nehemiah's advent, and that it must be read in connexion with Ezra iv. 6-23 and Neh. i. 2, 3; we shall give reasons for the belief that these two passages refer to the same event. It is true that in neither of them is there any reference to the Temple having been damaged, only to the destruction of the city walls and of harm done to the city, while in Isa. lxiii. 18 it is said, 'Our adversaries have trodden down thy sanctuary', and in Isa. lxiv. 10, 11, 'thy holy cities are become a wilderness, Zion is become a wilderness, Jerusalem a desolation. Our holy and our beautiful house, where our fathers praised thee, is burned with fire; and all our pleasant things are laid waste.'

But this destruction of the city can hardly have taken place without damage to the Temple; and, as we have had ample evidence to show, the returned exiles did not have the anxiety to rebuild the Temple that the Chronicler would have us believe; their concern was more for material safety; moreover, the silence about the Temple in Ezra iv. 6-23 is quite comprehensible, as this passage only tells of the enemy point of view; the messengers who came to Nehemiah (Neh. i. 2, 3) are very laconic in their report compared with Nehemiah's manifestation of grief, so that the report may be a very condensed one. In a word, that nothing is said about the Temple in Ezra iv. 6-23 and Neh. i. 2, 3, does not necessarily militate against the contention that these passages, together with Isa. lxiii. 7—lxiv. 12, all refer to the same event.

In Isa. lxiii. 18 there is an evident reference to the fact that the period since the Return had not been of long duration: 'Thy people possessed it but a little while.' But, above all, there is much which in essence is parallel between the Isaiah passage and the words which follow the messengers' report to Nehemiah in Neh. i. 4-11. They must be read side by side to realize the full significance of the fact; but that each speaks as it does of the divine mercy, with reference to the past, of prayer, of the national sins, of confession, &c., must at least suggest the possibility that behind both passages lies the same event, namely, an attack upon Jerusalem by some enemy in the surroundings which aroused Nehemiah to come to the help of his people.

We feel, therefore, that there is some justification for including Isa. lxiii. 7—lxiv. 12 among those passages belonging to the period 516–444 B.C., from which some data may be gathered regarding the condition of the Jews in Palestine during this period.

THE BOOK OF MALACHI

We come next to the book of *Malachi*. That this 'messenger' of Yahweh lived and laboured after the Temple had been rebuilt is abundantly clear. In i. 10 it is said: 'Oh that there were one among you that would shut the doors, that ye might not kindle (fire) on mine altar in vain! I have no pleasure in you, saith Yahweh Zebaoth, neither will I accept an offering at your hand.' The 'doors' here refer obviously to those of the Temple, which the prophet desires should be altogether closed on account of the polluted offerings brought for sacrifice. In iii. 1, again, it is said in so many words that the Temple is standing: '. . . and the Lord, for whom ye are looking, shall suddenly come to his temple.' Similarly, in iii. 10 there is mention of 'mine house'. The same thing is implied by the frequent references to the sacrifices, though they are not offered as they ought to be (i. 7, 8, 10, 12, 13; ii. 13; iii. 8). That, on the other hand, the book was written before the time of Nehemiah and Ezra is also evident for several reasons; important is the fact that priests and Levites are not yet differentiated, they all come under the comprehensive term 'Levi' (ii. 4–9), or 'sons of Levi' (iii. 3), whereas in the Priestly Code, accepted by Ezra,¹ Priests and Levites are distinct orders. Then, further, the spirit in which offerings are brought, the remissness in paying of tithes, and the general behaviour of the priests, point to a time before Nehemiah and Ezra, whose strictness would have made such things impossible. Again, the prophet's horror of the idea of divorce (ii. 14–16) is in marked contrast to the teaching and action of Nehemiah and Ezra; and, be it noted, Malachi's attitude towards the Gentiles (i. 11, 14) is such that he would not have objected to mixed marriages; indeed, there is every reason to believe that these were taking place in his day since it cannot have been long before Nehemiah and Ezra that he lived, and in their day mixed marriages were, as we know, so prevalent. What Malachi says in reference to the Gentiles is, indeed, a further argument that he belonged to a time before, though but shortly before, 444 B.C., for the breadth of view which he manifests in this respect became a thing of the past during the régime of Nehemiah and Ezra. One other thing which points to a pre-Nehemiah-Ezra period is that the references to the Law in the book of *Malachi* suggest the Deuteronomic rather than the Priestly Code.

¹ This is not to say that additions to it were not made later.

BOOK I (continued)

THE PERIOD OF NEHEMIAH AND EZRA

Chapter A
NEHEMIAH AND EZRA

SUMMARY

[In studying the somewhat perplexing periods of the activity of Nehemiah and Ezra some consideration of the sources is demanded. They are seven in number: the Ezra Memoirs, the Rescript of Artaxerxes, the Nehemiah Memoirs, Temple Records; these were all utilized in compiling our present books of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*; then there is the 'Greek Ezra', the Elephantine Papyri, and some portions in Josephus' *Antiquities*.

A further preliminary required for the study of the history of these periods is the discussion of the question, which has come much to the fore in recent years, as to which of the two, Ezra or Nehemiah, preceded the other, or whether they were contemporaries. According to the Chronicler, Ezra arrived first, in 457 B.C., and was followed by Nehemiah in 444 B.C., and they then combined in a joint leadership. Arguments are brought forward to show that this cannot have been the true sequence. There is an *a priori* improbability of there having been two contemporary leaders when due consideration is taken of the circumstances and conditions of the time. Further, the fact is noteworthy, and cannot be ignored, that, just in those three passages in which Ezra and Nehemiah are represented as having been contemporaries, the text is open to grave suspicion. A fact of less importance, but which must be registered in the cumulative evidence, is that Nehemiah found a meagre population on his arrival, Ezra a numerous one. Again, Ezra, on his arrival, finds that the city walls have been rebuilt; as there is ample evidence to show that it was Nehemiah who rebuilt the city walls it is reasonable to conclude that Ezra came after Nehemiah. But quite conclusive is the further fact that the High-priest who lived in the time of Nehemiah was the grandfather of the High-priest who lived in the time of Ezra; and this is corroborated by the external evidence afforded by two of the Elephantine Papyri.

The conclusion, therefore, is that Nehemiah came first to Palestine in 444 B.C., and that Ezra came nearly half a century later, in 397 B.C.]

I. THE SOURCES

THE sources for this period are found mainly embedded in the books of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*. In some cases they may be discerned with comparative certitude; about others there is less certainty. The Chronicler's characteristic marks are, however, much in evidence, and the whole material has been manipulated

by him, or by one or more of his school, in such a way that the historical sequence is as puzzling as we have seen it to be for the earlier years of the post-exilic period.

(a) *The Ezra Memoirs*. There are a few extracts which are generally, and with justice, regarded as having been taken from some record kept by Ezra himself; they are written in the first person, and, but for minor points, give the impression of being really what they purport to be. These are contained in Ezra vii. 27, 28, viii. 1-34.

There are some other passages which, though quite obviously not extracts, may well have been ultimately based on the Ezra Memoirs; these passages are: Ezra vii. 1-10, ix. 1-x. 44; Neh. vii. 73^b-viii. 12, 13-18, ix. (x).¹ In these the narrative is all about Ezra, and he is always spoken of in the third person; but the Chronicler's hand has been so busy that they must be used with caution.

(b) *The Rescript of Artaxerxes*. This, occurring in Ezra vii. 12-26, purports to be the official royal permission given to Ezra and those who desired to join him in returning to Palestine. It is not said which Artaxerxes it was who gave the permission; this will occupy us later. At present a brief examination of the form of the rescript is demanded. The first point, which must immediately excite suspicion, is the intensely Jewish colouring throughout; it is inconceivable that a Persian king should have written in this Jewish strain. Further, the powers granted to Ezra of appointing judges and magistrates throughout the province 'beyond the river', the right vested in him of forcing everybody to obey 'the law of thy God', and to punish them if they disobey, even to the extent of putting them to death—such things, quite apart from a number of minor points, force us to doubt the authenticity of this document. Added to this there is the extreme improbability of a Persian king knowing anything about such details of the Jewish cult-*personnel* as the difference between Priests and Levites, of the singers and porters, and the *Nethinim*, explained as 'servers', and that he should make mention of such sacrificial technical terms as 'freewill offerings', 'meat offerings', and 'drink offerings', in an official edict. All these things lead us to the conclusion that, so far as the detailed subject-matter of this rescript is concerned, it is wholly un-

¹ It is difficult to say whether chap. x belongs to the Ezra Memoirs or to those of Nehemiah.

historical, and is the composition if not of the Chronicler himself, then of one of his school. The one element about it which may conceivably be historical is the fact of a royal edict having been issued, in which a body of Jews under Ezra were granted permission to go to Jerusalem, if they wished.

(c) *The Nehemiah Memoirs*. A larger amount of material has been used by the Chronicler from the Memoirs of Nehemiah than from those of Ezra, probably because the former were the more voluminous. They are comprised in Neh. i. 1—vii. 73^a, (x), xi. 1–2 (3–36?¹), xiii. 4–31; some other passages have the appearance of originating from the same source, but they have been worked over by the Chronicler in accordance with his special point of view; these are xii. 27–47, xiii. 1–3.

All these extracts, like those from the Ezra Memoirs, must be regarded as of high value for constructing the history of the time, due allowance being made for the Chronicler's idiosyncrasies; and this notwithstanding the unskilful way in which the compilation has been made, a fact which, we have already seen, very soon becomes evident when these books are carefully studied.

(d) *Temple Records*. It is extremely probable that some of the lists, such as Neh. xii. 1–26, which contain the names of the heads of Levitical and priestly families, were copied from the records preserved in the Temple;² this is also the case with Ezra iv. 6–23, v. 1–6, 15.

There are also isolated passages the source or sources of which cannot be specified, such as Ezra vii. 11, viii. 35, 36, and others. The remainder of the material comprised in Ezra vii, x, and in *Nehemiah* is the work of the Chronicler and, as will be seen, he has somewhat blurred the historical picture owing to a preconceived idea of what the course of events must have been; this, added to an unskilful use of his sources, makes the reconstruction of the history a somewhat difficult task.

(e) *The 'Greek Ezra'*. Into the intricate relationship between this book and *Ezra-Nehemiah* we cannot enter here; it must suffice to say that in some apparently insignificant, but in reality important points the 'Greek Ezra' is of considerable

¹ This is a list of provincial chiefs, who lived in Jerusalem, which has been incorporated in the Nehemiah Memoirs; but whether this was done by Nehemiah himself or was inserted later must be left open.

² For the care taken in preserving records of this kind in the Temple see Josephus, *Contra Ap.* i. 30–7, *Vita*, i. 1–6.

value for correcting *Ezra-Nehemiah*. This applies especially to the latter part of *Ezra* (the 'Greek Ezra' viii. 1—ix. 36=*Ezra* vii-x).

(f) *The Elephantine Papyri*. These documents, about 35 of which (out of 82) are dated, range from 495 B.C. to about 400 B.C. They were discovered, in part, on the site of an ancient Jewish military settlement in Yeb, or Elephantiné, a small island in the Nile near the first cataract; and, in part, on the site of the ancient Syene¹ (Assouan), on the western bank. They are valuable from many points of view, and will be referred to more fully later.²

(g) *Josephus, Antiq.* XI. iv. v. For completeness' sake this must be mentioned, small as its value is as an historical source. In the main, Josephus follows the 'Greek Ezra'; but he adds various other details, which cannot, however, be regarded as of much historical value.

These, then, are the sources from which the history of the age of Ezra and Nehemiah is to be gathered. But before we can deal with the history of this period there is a point of fundamental importance to be decided, viz. as to which of the two leading personalities of the period, Ezra or Nehemiah, preceded the other.

2. EZRA-NEHEMIAH OR NEHEMIAH-EZRA?

We have been accustomed to believe that Ezra preceded Nehemiah as leader of the Palestine community, having arrived in Jerusalem about thirteen years previously; and that, when Nehemiah came, they both continued as joint leaders. The reason for this is that the king Artaxerxes mentioned in *Ezra* vii. 7, 8 and *Neh.* ii. 1 was regarded as Artaxerxes I ('Longimanus') in both passages; Ezra being said to have arrived in the seventh year, Nehemiah in the twentieth, 457 B.C. and 444 B.C. respectively. Although it is not said whether the first or the second king of this name is meant in either of the passages, it is quite certain that the Chronicler intended it to be understood that the same king was meant in each passage; this is clear not only from the historical sequence, as he gives it, but also while, as pointed out above, the *difference* in the spelling of the name Artaxerxes,³ uniformly carried out, suggests that it was originally intended to mark a distinction between the two kings of this

¹ Cp. *Ezek.* xxix. 10, xxx. 6.

² See, further, Additional Note C.

³ The third king of this name does not come into account as he did not reign until 359-339 B.C.

name, yet in the two crucial passages, Ezra vii. 7, 8 and in Neh. ii. 1, the name is spelled in the same way. But, although the Chronicler thus makes Ezra and Nehemiah contemporaries, there are overwhelming reasons to prove that this was not the case. These we must now proceed to consider.

In the accounts which we have of the activity of these two respectively, each appears as the *sole* leader; but it is unlikely that there would have been two leaders at the same time in such a small community. If it be objected to this that we have the cases of Zerubbabel with Joshua the High-priest, and Haggai with Zechariah, the answer is that in the case of the former two their offices were so entirely distinct as civil and spiritual leaders that there is no analogy; and in the case of the two latter, they did not occupy the place of leaders, they were religious teachers. With Ezra and Nehemiah it was quite different; Nehemiah was appointed governor, and there could not be more than one governor at a time; and although Ezra is nowhere described as governor, he was, according to the Chronicler's account (Ezra vii. 25, 26), at least that, and something more.

It is true, Ezra and Nehemiah are mentioned as co-operating; but in the matter of the mixed marriages they take independent action, a thing in itself extremely improbable if they were contemporaries. But, apart from this, it is a very significant fact that just those passages in which they are represented as co-operating are open to suspicion, and there are grave doubts as to their genuineness, as will be seen. The first is Neh. viii. 9, where Nehemiah is represented as taking part in what was especially within Ezra's sphere, the great ceremony of the reading of the Law. But Neh. viii quite obviously does not belong to the Nehemiah Memoirs; nor is there any mention in these memoirs themselves of any part that Nehemiah took in this function. This reading and inculcation of the Law was a matter of supreme importance, in a sense it was an epoch-making event; and, if Nehemiah had had any hand in it, it is impossible to believe that he would have omitted all reference to it in his memoirs. There is also the further point that, even in Neh. viii, Nehemiah is never mentioned again after verse 9, although Ezra's name occurs six times in the chapter. If Nehemiah had really co-operated with Ezra in this highly important ceremony would he have been so consistently ignored when Ezra is mentioned again and again? It is also significant

that in the corresponding verse to Neh. viii. 9 in the 'Greek Ezra' (ix. 49) the name of Nehemiah does not occur.¹ The next passage to be considered is Neh. x. 1. Here the text is uncertain, for the Greek manuscripts omit 'the Tirshatha'; it is true, they have 'Nehemiah', but the fact that there is a difference in the Hebrew and Greek texts shows that an uncertainty exists. The last passage is Neh. xii. 26, where the names of Nehemiah and Ezra (in this order) occur; the fact that Ezra has already been mentioned (in verse 13) suggests that it does not belong here; and, moreover, the text of xii. 26 is, again, doubtful.

It is, therefore, a somewhat striking thing, that, just in those passages in which the names of Ezra and Nehemiah occur together, the text raises suspicions. If Ezra and Nehemiah had been contemporaries and co-workers, would there not have been some definite, and indeed frequent, reference to the fact in the respective memoirs of the two? Is it credible that these two outstanding leaders of the people—at a time when leaders were particularly required, and who are represented as working together, and who certainly each wrote memoirs of the details of their work—should so entirely ignore one another in their respective memoirs, if they really had been contemporaries? Instead of three isolated instances of one being mentioned in the memoirs of the other, each of which excites suspicion, we should rather expect, in the nature of things, to find frequent mention by one of the other in their respective memoirs; the absence of this points strongly to their not having been contemporaries.

This is further borne out by another consideration. Nehemiah, in his memoirs, remarks that 'the city was wide and large; but the people were few therein, and the houses were not builded' (vii. 4); he must be referring to the larger houses, for, as we saw in an earlier chapter, there is no reason to suppose that the smaller houses would have been destroyed during the siege in 586 B.C. One can understand that so long as the city walls were in a ruinous state there would be little inducement to

¹ In this passage the text runs: 'And Attharates (or Attaraté, according to another reading) said to Ezra', showing clearly that the title Tirshatha was looked upon as a proper name by the Greek translator, and therefore could not possibly have been intended to apply to Nehemiah. This is further proved by the fact that in the 'Greek Ezra' v. 40 it says: 'And Nehemiah and Attharias (= Attharates) bade them . . .' It cannot therefore be argued that since an *equivalent* for 'Tirshatha' occurs in the 'Greek Ezra' therefore Nehemiah is implied.

build the better class of houses.¹ At any rate, Nehemiah complains of the smallness of the population in Jerusalem; but Ezra (in x. 1) finds things rather different in this respect, for he speaks of a 'very great congregation of men and women and children'; cp. also x. 13. It is but a small point, and not much emphasis is to be laid on it; but as an item in the cumulative argument it is worth mentioning. On the assumption that Nehemiah returned to Palestine a generation before Ezra both statements are comprehensible; but if they were contemporaries the two utterances are difficult to reconcile.

Another such small point, but of greater significance, is the fact that, according to Ezra ix. 9 (cp. iv. 12, 13), Ezra finds the city walls built: '... God hath forsaken us ... but hath extended mercy unto us ... and to give us a wall² in Judah and Jerusalem'; as we know that it was Nehemiah who repaired the city wall, it is obvious from this passage that Ezra came after him.

Once more, from Nehemiah's memoirs it is seen that he was a contemporary of the High-priest Eliashib (Neh. iii. 1). From Ezra's memoirs (Ezra x. 6) we learn that Ezra was a contemporary of the High-priest Jehohanan, the son of Eliashib. Now in the Old Testament 'son' is sometimes used in a loose way for 'grandson'; so, e.g., in Gen. xxix. 5, xxxi. 28, 43, Ruth iv. 17; and that this is likewise the case here is seen from Neh. xii. 11, where Johanan³ (Jonathan=Johanan, as can be seen from xii. 22) appears as Eliashib's grandson, viz. he is the son of Jehoiada, the son of Eliashib. So that, as Nehemiah lived during the High-priesthood of Eliashib, and Ezra under that of his grandson, there is the high probability that Ezra lived and worked a generation or more later than the time of Nehemiah. And we have in this connexion an interesting piece of corroborative evidence from two of the Elephantine papyri.⁴ From these we

¹ On the other hand, see Hag. i. 4.

² That this is not a figurative expression is proved by the mention of the setting-up of the house of God, in the same verse. Moreover, the word used (*geder*) never has a figurative sense when referring to a wall (Isa. v. 5, Ps. lxxx. 12 [13 in Hebr.] do not refer to a wall in the ordinary sense); had the writer intended to speak figuratively he would have used the word *chōmah* ('wall'), which often has a figurative sense. The words 'in Judah' do not present a difficulty, for the Hebrew can equally well be translated 'in Judah, even in Jerusalem'.

³ Johanan is merely a shortened form of Jehohanan.

⁴ Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus einer jüdischen Militär-Kolonie zu Elephantine*, Pap. I, line 18, Pap. II, line 17 (1911).

learn that Jehohanan was High-priest in Jerusalem in 408 B.C. As Ezra lived under his High-priesthood, it is clear that when, as we have seen, it is said in Ezra vii. 1, Neh. ii. 1 ff. that Ezra and Nehemiah came to Jerusalem in the seventh and twentieth years of Artaxerxes respectively, without specifying which Artaxerxes is meant, we must understand that in the case of Nehemiah it was Artaxerxes I (464-424 B.C.), and therefore the year 444 B.C., while in the case of Ezra it was Artaxerxes II (404-359 B.C.), and therefore the year 397 B.C.

This is confirmed by the other of the Elephantiné papyri belonging to the year 408 B.C.¹ In this, mention is made of a letter asking for help to rebuild their Temple, sent by the Jewish community there to Delaiah and Shelemiah the sons of Sanballat, the governor of Samaria. Evidently Sanballat was an old man by now (though still governor) because the letter is sent to his sons Delaiah and Shelemiah, who were, presumably, representing their father. Sanballat, now too old to be acting governor, was in his earlier days, as we know, a contemporary of Nehemiah.

It is on the basis of what has been said that we proceed to follow out the history, the evidence having clearly shown that Nehemiah preceded Ezra.

3. NEHEMIAH AND HIS WORK

SUMMARY

[Nehemiah, who occupied an important position at the court of Artaxerxes I, obtained permission to visit his countrymen owing to their precarious position brought about by an attack on Jerusalem. He arrived in Palestine in 444 B.C., and immediately realized that the first need for ensuring the safety of the inhabitants of Jerusalem was the rebuilding of the walls. There was, however, a considerable party in the city who were opposed to this; Nehemiah was aware of this and therefore kept his purpose secret as long as this was possible. The reason why a section of the people, notably the priesthood, objected to the rebuilding of the walls was because they believed that this would be regarded as a hostile act by the Samaritans, with whom they were on the best of terms. Opposed to them and siding with Nehemiah was another section who regarded the Samaritans with suspicion and who therefore welcomed the rebuilding of the walls as a means of keeping them out of the city.]

¹ Sachau, *op. cit.*, Pap. I, lines 23-9.

The difficulty which confronted Nehemiah was that he was faced with opposition from Jews within the city as well as by that of the Samaritans without; but it was the former who caused him most trouble. The primary objection which Sanballat, the governor of Samaria, had to the presence of Nehemiah may have been that the former had hoped that Judaea would have come under his jurisdiction as well as Samaria. We have no proof that this was so, but it would account for the personal animus evinced by Sanballat for Nehemiah.

The work of rebuilding the walls was successfully completed in spite of opposition. Nehemiah remained in Palestine for twelve years, returning to his royal master in 432 B.C. After some time, but after how long is not stated, he returned to Jerusalem. During his second visit he instituted certain religious reforms: the cleansing of a chamber within the Temple precincts which had been occupied by the Samaritan Tobiah, and which was regarded as having been polluted by his presence; the proper payment of tithe; more rigid Sabbath observance; and the attempt to prohibit marriages with what were regarded by Nehemiah as foreign women.]

Nehemiah belonged to a family which came originally from Jerusalem; he refers in his memoirs to his fathers' sepulchres in that city (Neh. ii. 3, 5). At the court of Artaxerxes I (464 B.C.—424 B.C.) he came to occupy the important position of cup-bearer to the king (Neh. ii. 1).¹ During the residence of the court in Shushan, in the winter of the year 445/444 B.C., Nehemiah received information from some of the Palestinian Jews of the distressing conditions under which their compatriots in that country were suffering; especially disconcerting was the fact that Jerusalem had been attacked and that the walls of the city had been broken down. We may gather from the words of Neh. i. 3, 'and the gates thereof are burned with fire', that this was a recent occurrence. If, as seems probable, what is here referred to is described more fully in Ezra iv. 6–23,² a passage which, as already pointed out, does not belong to the position it occupies in the text as it now stands, we may, on the basis of it, present to ourselves the course of the previous history somewhat as follows: After many years of resigned acquiescence in the

¹ We learn incidentally that he was a eunuch, as his presence in the royal harem shows (Neh. ii. 6). The words in Neh. i. 11: 'Now I was cup-bearer to the king', are rendered by the Septuagint: *καὶ ἐγὼ ἤμην εὐνουχος τῷ βασιλεῖ* (Esdras B xi. 11).

² The text of this passage (verses 8–23 are in Aramaic) is in a very corrupt state, and the meaning is at times uncertain.

unsatisfactory state of the city walls consequent upon the siege of 586 B.C., and doubtless also owing to hostile attacks from enemies, the inhabitants of Jerusalem at last realized the need of putting its walls into a proper state of defence. Whether they succeeded in completing the work or not is uncertain; according to verse 12 of this passage 'they finished the walls and repaired the foundations'; but verses 16 and 21 do not bear this out. The undertaking, however, whether completed or not, was regarded with grave suspicion by those in authority in Samaria;¹ a letter is therefore addressed by them to Artaxerxes I, in which they point out that the royal interests will be jeopardized if steps are not taken to counteract what has been done. In reply, the king, who is rendered suspicious by the contents of the letter, gives orders that the work is to cease (verses 21, 22). As a result, the Samaritans 'went in haste to Jerusalem unto the Jews, and made them to cease by force and power' (verse 23).

It is this occurrence, therefore, that is reported to Nehemiah by Hanani and his friends in Neh. i. 1-3. The passage which follows (verses 4-11), describing how Nehemiah was affected by the news, and the prayer he offers, is no doubt an expansion by the compiler; but the kernel of the narrative, namely that Nehemiah felt the deepest sympathy for his compatriots and that he sought divine guidance as to what was to be done, is too natural to be doubted. Nehemiah was obviously a favourite of the king, and in frequent and close touch with him; he therefore determined to take the first opportunity of seeking to enlist the royal sympathy on behalf of his Jewish subjects. One cannot fail to recognize the human touch in the hint given in Neh. ii. 1 that Nehemiah broached the subject at a time when the king was in a good humour over his wine. Noticing the downcast look of Nehemiah's face—for no king likes to see his favourites dejected—Artaxerxes inquires what ails him. Nehemiah then unfolds his tale and begs the king's permission to go to Judah that he may repair the damage that had been done in Jerusalem, the city of his fathers. His request is granted, and full licence is given him not only to go to Judah, but also to demand from the royal officials beyond the river, in the king's

¹ The names of the royal officials, which differ from those given in Neh. ii. 10, arouse a good deal of suspicion, and in all probability have nothing to do with the matter dealt with.

name, materials for the work to be undertaken. A letter is given him by the king to this effect.

There is nothing improbable in this entire reversal of what the king had but recently written to his Samaritan officials, as recorded in Ezra iv. 6-23; for one thing, Nehemiah was a trusted favourite, and his presence in Judah would be a guarantee against anything being done detrimental to the royal interests. But apart from this, an oriental monarch was responsible to himself alone, and, if he liked to change his mind regarding any matter, that was his affair. In the case of a man of weak character such as Artaxerxes I was, this would be the more comprehensible. He was, as is known, a king given to self-indulgence, whiling away much time in the harem with wine and women;¹ thus, he was the typical oriental monarch, who would be easily swayed by a man of strong will like Nehemiah.

On his arrival in Jerusalem—nothing is said about his journey or of those who, presumably, accompanied him—Nehemiah at once set about his task by undertaking a preliminary survey of the situation. It is mentioned at the outset that the Samaritans viewed his arrival with displeasure (ii. 10); this was natural enough—not only had he succeeded in overriding the king's direct instructions to themselves, but to them a royal official in Jerusalem would appear a real menace. Nehemiah, ignoring their attitude, goes by night with but a handful of companions to examine the extent of the damage. Noticeable is the fact that Nehemiah keeps his purpose secret; it is said expressly that he told no man of what God had put into his heart to do for Jerusalem (ii. 12); and again in ii. 16 it is said: 'And the rulers knew not whither I went, or what I did; neither had I, as yet, told it to the Jews, nor to the priests, nor to the nobles, nor to the rulers, nor to the rest that did the work.' But the text immediately goes on to say: 'Then said I unto them, Ye see the evil case that we are in . . . come and let us build up the wall of Jerusalem, that we be no more a reproach'; and in response to his words the people say: 'Let us rise up and build. So they strengthened their hands for the good work.' The impression here given that the building of the walls was undertaken with eagerness by the people betrays the hand of the Chronicler; for there can be no doubt that the Jewish leaders, as a whole, opposed the building of the walls, as the sequel shows; but the

¹ See Nöldeke, *Aufsätze zur persischen Geschichte*, p. 56 (1887).

Chronicler, who could not bring himself to believe that such a man as Nehemiah should not have been received with open arms by all the heads of the Jewish community, adds words in order to give the impression that all willingly put their hands to the work. The fact is that Nehemiah was well aware of the opposition he would meet with from many of his own people in the work he had undertaken (see, e.g., vi. 17-19); hence his initial secrecy until he should have formed a clear idea of what was required. This opposition, as is plain from verse 16, came mainly from a section of the leaders of the people, primarily from the native priesthood¹ (cp. Neh. xiii. 29), and from Neh. vi. 10-14 it is seen that he also had enemies among the prophets; the reason of this was that they had no quarrel with the Samaritans; this will come out more fully when we deal with the subject of the Samaritans (see next chapter). On the other hand, it is certain that there was a party in Jerusalem opposed to the Samaritans and whole-heartedly the friends of Nehemiah, a party influenced by the more rigid religious outlook of the Babylonian Jews. It was the members of this party who, we must assume, were the first to attempt to rebuild the walls (as described in Ezra iv. 6-23) with the primary object of keeping the Samaritans at arm's length, and who thereby aroused the enmity of the latter. We see here, in fact, what was already discernible in Haggai (Hag. ii. 10-14), influenced as he was by the priests among the Babylonian exiles, the signs of that conflict of points of view which continued until the Jewish State came to a final end—the conflict between the particularistic and the universalistic attitudes. Babylonian Jewry was the original home of orthodox Judaism; it was here that the particularistic attitude first began to take shape. The Jews of Palestine, on the other hand, owing to very different conditions of life and environment, developed a rather more liberal religious outlook. The Samaritans, with whom there was constant intercourse, were their brethren; but in part they were of a mixed race owing to intermarriage with foreign settlers (cp. 2 Kgs. xvii. 24). Both, the Jews of Palestine, however, as well as the Samaritans, were worshippers of Yahweh (cp. Ezra iv. 2),

¹ It is difficult to believe, in view of Neh. xiii. 4-6 (though it is an open question whether the Eliashib there mentioned is the same as the Eliashib of iii. 1), that what is said about the High-priest Eliashib in Neh. iii. 1 was part of Nehemiah's memoir; it is more likely to be the work of the compiler, who would naturally assume that Nehemiah was supported by the High-priest.

though the form of worship was, of course, not of the same strictly orthodox type as that of their brethren in Babylonia, for there the priestly schools were developing that form of Judaism which ultimately became crystallized in the Priestly Code; at any rate, the Priestly Code was the most characteristic written representative of that form of Judaism. In the end, as we know, and very largely owing to the powerful and forceful personalities of Nehemiah and Ezra, the particularistic attitude prevailed in Palestine, as had always been the case among the bulk of the Jews in Babylonia; nevertheless, the upholders of the broader views were never wholly overcome;¹ the evidences of their labour do not figure largely in post-exilic biblical literature, but a book such as that of *Jonah* is a noble monument to their memory.

Therefore, when Nehemiah came to Jerusalem his task was made doubly difficult because not only had he to contend with the enmity of those whom he regarded as interlopers, but he was also faced with the opposition of a section among his own people whose sympathy was with these 'interlopers'.

From what has been said it will be realized that from Nehemiah's point of view the rebuilding of the city walls was a means to an end, not an end in itself; it was to keep out those who, as he believed, would contaminate the purity of the Jewish faith and worship. The opposition that Nehemiah met with was faced with boldness, and his undaunted courage and strong personality gained many to his side, so that the work was undertaken with vigour. But it was hardly to be expected that the Samaritans would acquiesce in what had been previously so strongly opposed without some attempt to prevent it. Their leader was Sanballat who, as we learn from one of the Elephantine papyri,² was governor of Samaria; with him were associated Tobiah, an Ammonite, and Geshem (or Gashmu), an Arabian.

Sanballat the 'Horonite' was probably a Moabite and a native of Horonaim in Moab. He was related to the High-priest Eliashib by marriage (Neh. xiii. 28). Tobiah was, it would seem, an ancestor

¹ It is likely enough that even among the exiles who remained faithful to their ancestral faith there may have been some whose views were broadened through contact with the outer world.

² Sachau, *op. cit.*, Pap. I, line 29, 'Sanballat, governor of Samaria'; it is dated 'the 20th of Marcheshwan the 17th year of Darius the king'; Darius II (the king referred to) reigned 424-404 B.C., so that Sanballat had been governor long previously.

of the family which played an important part in the later history of the Jews ('the house of Tobias'). Geshem, by birth an Arabian from the south of Palestine, had presumably settled down in Samaria.

The opposition, so far as Sanballat and his followers were concerned, is merely described as mockery; but there was also the accusation of the act of building being in reality rebellion against the king, a thought which is strongly reminiscent of Ezra iv. 12, 13. Whether more serious steps were taken to stop the building may be doubted. True, it is said in Neh. iv. 8 (2 in Hebr.) that Sanballat and his followers 'conspired all of them together to come and fight against Jerusalem, and to cause confusion there' (cp. verse 11[5]); but nowhere is it said that any actual attack was made; moreover, it is difficult to believe that the governor of one province would attack the governor of another province who had the king's authority for what he was doing. The really serious difficulty of Nehemiah's position seems to have been caused by those among his own people rather than from intruders from outside. This emerges from one or two passages the significance of which has not always been recognized. Thus, in Neh. iv. 10 (4 in Hebr.) it is said: 'And Judah (meaning the Jews who were building) said, the strength of the bearers of burdens is decayed (i.e. has given way), and there is much rubbish; so we are not able to build the wall.' Properly understood this means that these Jews said there was so much rubbish to be cleared out of the way that it had overtaxed their strength, and therefore they could not go on with the building; such an excuse was, of course, pure nonsense. In plain language we have here the beginning of the revolt against Nehemiah among a section of the Jews because they had no wish to see the walls rebuilt. Then, when Nehemiah goes on to quote the outside adversaries as saying, 'they shall not know, neither see, till we come into the midst of them, and slay them, and cause the work to cease', he is referring to the purpose of the enemy to make capital out of the discontent among a section of the builders. That the state of affairs within the city was known to the enemy outside will be readily understood when it is remembered that they had friends there (see e.g., Neh. xiii. 4 ff.).

Another passage requiring notice is Neh. iv. 12 (6 in Hebr.); the corrupt state of the text permits a tentative explanation

only;¹ interpreted in the light of the context it seems to have meant originally that the loyal Jews who were working near the discontented ones had to be constantly coming to Nehemiah to tell him to send more reliable workers to the spots in question in order to keep the discontented ones up to the mark, or possibly to prevent them from deserting; hence the need, as the next verse goes on to say, of placing armed men near these spots.

Once more, we get another hint in verse 22 (16 in Hebr.), where it is said that those who lived outside of Jerusalem and returned to their homes every evening were commanded to remain in the city altogether; read in the light of what has already been said, we are tempted to believe that what this really means is that Nehemiah felt that it was necessary for these men to be kept under surveillance lest they should be tempted not to return when once outside the city.

There are, therefore, good grounds for believing that the main difficulty with which Nehemiah had to contend was to be sought inside the city rather than outside. Not that those outside were not bitter enemies; but, obviously enough, Sanballat could not, as already pointed out, himself undertake any overt action in face of the fact that Nehemiah had the king's permission for what he was doing; hence the importance to him of allies within Jerusalem; and hence his secret machinations against Nehemiah personally. Had there been any serious attacks on the part of outsiders it would have been very difficult to withstand them in view of the account of the condition of the people which Nehemiah gives in v. 1-13.

While the rebuilding of the city walls was still in progress Nehemiah was confronted with a more insidious danger. The design of Sanballat and his confederates against him personally, recorded in Neh. vi. 1-9, shows that, however much they may have resented his rebuilding the city walls, there was something else that they had against him; and it was Sanballat in particular who was embittered. The reason for this was envy at Nehemiah having been appointed governor of Judah; and this explains why Sanballat was 'exceedingly grieved' (ii. 10) at his coming; it was not because Nehemiah had come to build the walls that Sanballat was so grieved, for he could have known nothing about that at first since Nehemiah kept it secret even

¹ The Septuagint has entirely misunderstood its import, and is therefore valueless here.

from his own people, as we have seen; but it was because 'there was come a man to seek the welfare of the children of Israel' (ii. 10), in other words, to be governor of Judah. May it not have been that Sanballat had hoped that the small district of Judah might be incorporated in the province of Samaria? This is pure conjecture; but the animus against Nehemiah personally needs explanation. However this may be, Nehemiah ultimately overcame all obstacles, and the rebuilding of the walls was successfully completed. The time taken in doing this work is stated in Neh. vi. 15 to have been less than a couple of months, which at first sight strikes one as a manifest impossibility;¹ but there is no reason to believe that the entire length of the walls was destroyed when the city was taken by Nebuzar-adan (2 Kgs. xxv. 10); it is true, the expression 'round about' is used in reference to the destruction of the walls in that passage, giving the impression that the entire walls round the city were destroyed; but one need not take this in a literal sense, especially in view of what Nehemiah says; for it is significant that in Neh. iii. 1-32, where details are given as to the exact places where the work was carried out, the spots mentioned, so far as they can be identified, are only on the northern² and eastern³ parts of the city; by the way, these are just those parts which would have been attacked, because the *northern* wall was always the first objective of enemy attacks, and the *eastern* side of the city was that on which the Temple stood (cp. 2 Kgs. xxv. 9). Moreover, as we have already seen, it is highly probable that some repairing, at the least, had been accomplished before Nehemiah had come to Jerusalem. It may, therefore, be justifiably assumed that only parts of the wall needed renovation, in which case fifty-two days might well have sufficed.

It is remarkable that the formal record of the completion of the walls is not followed immediately by an account of their dedication, an important and, indeed, indispensable ceremony in those days; it must, one feels, have figured prominently in the original form of our text; as it is, the subject is mentioned only incidentally and in fragments in the section Neh. xii. 27-43, viz. verses 27-32 and 37-9, the former markedly touched up by the Chronicler. This is a further illustration

¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xi. 179, says that it took two years and four months.

² e.g. the sheep gate and the fish gate (iii. 1, 3; cp. xii. 39).

³ e.g. Ophel, the water gate (iii. 26, 27), and the horse gate (iii. 28).

of the confused way in which these records have been put together.

Nehemiah's last act in connexion with this part of his work was to appoint two reliable men, Hanani, his brother, and Hananiah, in charge over Jerusalem (vii. 1-3); this was, no doubt, done in order to set him free for his next duty, that of securing a larger population for the city (vii. 4, 5).¹

In Neh. xiii. 6 it is incidentally mentioned that in the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes (432 B.C.) Nehemiah returned to the court; he had thus spent twelve years in Judah. It then goes on to say that 'after certain days' he received the royal permission to return to Jerusalem. It is during his second visit that Nehemiah appears as a religious reformer. But little, comparatively speaking, of his activity in this sphere has been handed down, though sufficient is told to show that he was as ardent in this as in the matter of the rebuilding of the walls. Four subjects are mentioned in this connexion; first, there is the cleansing of the chamber occupied by Tobiah, whose presence there was regarded as a pollution by Nehemiah. It is important, in view of what will be said later about the Samaritan schism (see next chapter), to observe that during Nehemiah's absence (cp. verse 6) the Jerusalem priesthood saw no objection to this 'foreigner' taking part in the Temple worship, and actually living within the Temple precincts; it is clear that during his absence the friendly feeling which the Jews of Judah had all along entertained towards their northern brethren, continued to be fostered; but as soon as he returned, fortified by the rigid orthodoxy of Babylonian Jewry, the separatist policy was again adopted.

The next matter mentioned is Nehemiah's insistence on the proper rendering of the tithe, which had been neglected in the past (xiii. 10-14). Further, there is his zeal for Sabbath observance, dealt with in xiii. 15-22; and finally, there is the subject of the mixed marriages (xiii. 23-7); it is to be noticed here that Nehemiah does not insist on the Jews divorcing their foreign wives, as he regards them; he only makes them swear that they will not in future permit their sons and daughters to marry non-Jews.

¹ The Septuagint says that he gathered the nobles and others 'for a conference' (*εἰς συνέδριον*). The idea presumably was to settle down some of the country people in Jerusalem; but for this funds would be needed; hence the conference to discuss ways and means.

The record of Nehemiah's activity ceases somewhat abruptly, and nothing further is said about him; we have no idea how long he continued in Judah, or whether he ever returned to the court of Artaxerxes.

4. EZRA AND HIS WORK

SUMMARY

[Ezra came to Jerusalem in the seventh year of Artaxerxes II, i.e. 397 B.C. He came as a religious reformer, his work having as its primary object the establishment of the Law as formulated by the priestly schools among the Babylonian Jews. The details of his work are far more scanty than those given of the work of Nehemiah. Most prominent is the account of a great meeting of the people. The purpose of this gathering was to set before the people the essence of the Law as understood by the strict orthodoxy of Babylonian Judaism; it may therefore be regarded as, in a sense, a summing-up of the work of Ezra. What is to be understood by 'the book of the law of Moses' which was read to the assembled people is a matter of uncertainty; and different opinions are held by scholars. That by it was meant the Pentateuch, as we now have it, is too improbable to merit serious consideration. Some scholars hold that it was the Priestly Code, in the form that it had at that time assumed; others believe that it was the 'Law of Holiness' (Lev. xvii-xxvi). But whatever it may have been, the reading was followed by an explanation upon which much stress was laid.

The reasons given for dissenting from all these views, and the theory put forward as to what this reading of the Law and its explanation really meant, are dealt with below; they are difficult to summarize (see pp. 135 ff.).

There are certain details in connexion with this gathering which suggest that it formed precedents for practices adopted later in the worship of the Synagogue.

The view put forward by some scholars that there never was such a person as Ezra, but that he was the creation of the Chronicler's brain, is untenable.]

Ezra is first introduced in connexion with a genealogy (Ezra vii. 1-5), according to which he belonged to the High-priestly family; this genealogy is made to reach back to Aaron; it is, as a matter of fact, taken from 1 Chron. vi. 3-14 (Hebr. v. 29-40), with the excision of six generations. That this genealogy is not to be taken seriously will be granted when it is seen that only fifteen generations are reckoned for a period of something approaching

a thousand years. Further, in this genealogy, Seraiah, who, according to 2 Kgs. xxv. 18-21, Jer. lii. 24-7, was put to death immediately after the fall of Jerusalem, is reckoned as the father of Ezra.

This genealogy is due to the Chronicler, who felt that, in regard to such a personality as Ezra, it was fitting that a genealogy should be presented which went back a long way.

That Ezra was a priest appears from vii. 12, 21, where he is also described as a scribe of the Law; the nature of his work fully bears this out.

It was in the seventh year of Artaxerxes, i.e. the second of this name,¹ that Ezra came from Babylon to Jerusalem (397 B.C.). He started on the first day of the first month, and arrived four months later.

The purpose for which he came is stated in verse 10: 'Now Ezra had set his heart to seek the law of Yahweh, and to do it, and to teach in Israel statutes and judgements.' From what has already been said as to the type of Judaism among the Babylonian Jews, this purpose entirely coincides with what one might naturally expect. The work which Nehemiah did in his rôle of religious reformer during the later period of his administration showed how anxious the Jews in the eastern Dispersion were to bring their brethren in Judah into the true fold. Ezra's work, therefore, was to continue and amplify what Nehemiah had begun in this respect.

It is held by some modern authorities that the object of Ezra's journey was not to establish the Law, as this had developed in Babylonian Jewry, among the Jews in Palestine, but to restore the tribes of Israel to their ancient home. But since, as we have seen, there is now no room for doubt that Ezra was Nehemiah's successor—after some interval, it is true—the traditional view as to the purpose of Ezra's journey seems entirely within the range of probability. It cannot be too often insisted upon that Judaism was the product of the Exile, and that, therefore, the home of the orthodox religion of the Jews was Babylonia. Perhaps it would be too much to say that the main object of each and every return of Babylonian Jews to Palestine was to establish and confirm Babylonian Judaism among the Palestinian Jews; but there is, at any rate, an element of truth in this. The renovation of the Temple, the rebuilding of the

¹ 404-358 B.C., see above, p. 118.

walls of Jerusalem for the purpose of keeping unorthodox worshippers from the holy city, the prohibition of mixed marriages, the regulation of priestly dues, the insistence on Sabbath observance—these were all intended to contribute to the great end of establishing orthodox Judaism in Palestine as it was practised among the Jews of Babylonia; they were stages in the development tending towards the final goal. The nature of Nehemiah's work during the latter years of his presence in Palestine demanded, sooner or later, the consummation achieved by Ezra, and those who followed him. It seems, therefore, altogether reasonable to regard the essence of what is said of Ezra and his work as historically true, though it is not to be denied that the Chronicler, and probably some subsequent redactors, have been busy making additions to and modifications of the original text in accordance with the views and ideals of later times.

The letter, written in Aramaic, which purports to have been given to Ezra by Artaxerxes granting him permission to go to Jerusalem (Ezra vii. 12-26), betrays even more than the rescripts from Persian kings which have come before us the Chronicler's characteristic marks; thus, the distinction between priests and Levites (verse 13), the various minor offices connected with the Temple, and the prohibition to impose taxes on the holders of these offices (verse 24), the constant use of the name 'Israel', the technical sacrificial terms (verses 16, 17), the anxiety that the law of God should be obeyed, and that even the death penalty should be suffered in the event of disobedience (verse 26)—these are all things which no Persian king would have put into an official document of this kind. While it may well be that a royal permission was issued, it is quite certain that it must have been a writing of a very different kind from that which appears here.

The whole section (vii. 1-26) is in the nature of an introduction to the account of Ezra's administration; it is the work of the Chronicler, or one of his school, based ultimately on Ezra's memoirs.

The Ezra Memoirs proper begin abruptly at vii. 27, more strictly at verse 28, the first person being used.

But even here it would seem that the Chronicler has thought fit to add something of his own; for the whole purpose of Ezra's coming, as the sequel shows (see, too, vii. 10, 24-6), was to inculcate the

Law, in its developed form; but in verse 27 this is not mentioned, the only reference being to the Temple ('to beautify the house of Yahweh'). One might reasonably expect, at the beginning of these memoirs, that if any reference was to be made to the purpose of his journey, some mention of what that purpose really was might have appeared. It looks as though an extract from Ezra's memoirs had been utilized by the Chronicler, who altered it in so far as to make it appear a natural sequel to what had preceded. It may be surmised that originally some words, the purport of which appears in vii. 10,¹ occurred somewhere towards the beginning of the memoirs.

Ezra records how he gathered together all those who intended to undertake the journey at 'the river that runneth to Ahava'² (viii. 15). The bent of Ezra's mind is graphically set forth in this account. In mustering those for the journey to Jerusalem he notices that there are no Levites;³ messengers are therefore sent to summon these 'ministers for the house of God'; thirty-eight respond to the call, and with them come two hundred and twenty *Nethinim*, a subordinate class of Temple servants. This anxiety to have Levites among those going to Jerusalem is characteristic of Ezra as one zealous for the Law in its developed form; but the mention of the *Nethinim*⁴ is a very obvious later addition, for these Temple servants belong only to the post-exilic Temple, so how could Ezra have brought them with him when there was no Temple in Babylonia? On the other hand, it is fully in accord with Ezra's religious principles that he should have proclaimed a fast as a fitting preparation for a journey which had its perils; we have here already the idea that a work of the Law is efficacious; God, it is felt, will give them a safe journey as a reward for this pious act.

The journey took four months. On arrival in Jerusalem Ezra's first care was to place the gold and silver vessels which had been presented for use in the Temple into the charge of Meremoth, the son of Uriah the priest (viii. 33; cp. Neh. iii. 4, 21); the note which follows ('the children of the captivity, which were come out of exile, offered burnt-offerings unto the God of Israel . . .'), ignoring as it does all reference to the people

¹ 'For Ezra had set his heart to seek the law of Yahweh, and to do it, and to teach in Israel statutes and judgements.'

² Where this lay is not known, but it was evidently in Babylonia; in verse 21 the river itself is called the Ahava.

³ The distinction between priests and Levites has thus already taken place.

⁴ The Levites are called *Nethunim* (i.e. 'given' to the service of the sanctuary) in Num. iii. 9, viii. 16, 19.

of the land, whether the original inhabitants or exiles who had returned earlier, is important in view of what will be said later about the Samaritans; whether the words belong to the Ezra Memoirs or are a later addition their import is equally significant.

This preliminary religious duty having been recounted, we are brought face to face, again somewhat abruptly, with what is represented as the first phase of Ezra's activity, namely, his polemic against mixed marriages; an abuse, as it was held to be, which Nehemiah had already sought to rectify, though in vain, as it would appear from what follows.

It was primarily among the higher grades of society and among the priesthood that these marriages had been contracted. The narrative tells of how the leaders of the Jews came to Ezra with the complaint that the people had not separated themselves from the peoples of the lands, referring presumably to general intercourse with them; but the real indictment lies in the fact that the Jews, i.e. those who had returned from exile (x. 6-8), had intermarried with the women of these lands. According to x. 16-19 Ezra succeeded fully in inducing every one who had married a foreign woman to put her away; in his action here he was much more drastic than Nehemiah who did no more than exact a promise that in future the Jews would not permit their children to intermarry with foreigners (Neh. xiii. 25).

A word is demanded here in regard to the question of the genuineness and historical value of the whole of this section (Ezra ix, x). Two extreme views are held: on the one hand, it is accepted, in the main, as historical; on the other hand, it is rejected in its entirety. In disagreeing with both these views we plead for the exercise of the sense of proportion. One has but to read this section, with some knowledge of the language and style of 1, 2 Chronicles, to see that it is full of the thoughts and phrases which are characteristic of the Chronicler; this is not the place to give details; but that it is true will not be denied by any one with first-hand knowledge of the facts, nor, indeed, with second-hand knowledge if they will consult any good modern commentary. In addition to this, we have one or two instances of the Chronicler's charming nonchalance in face of incongruities; for example, the 'princes' are represented as scandalized at the intermarriages; and then it goes on to say: 'Yea, the hand of the princes and rulers hath been chief in this trespass' (ix. 1, 2). So that, taken as a whole, one cannot

fail to see that this section is the work of the Chronicler or of somebody belonging to his school of thought.

Nevertheless, there are strong grounds for believing that there is an important historical kernel contained within the elaborate shell fashioned by the Chronicler, and that this kernel was a genuine extract from Ezra's memoirs. As a child of Babylonian Jewry Ezra would naturally regard intermarriage between those Jews who had come from Babylonia to Palestine with those of the 'mixed races' of their new environment as a pollution. Jewish separateness had become during the Exile almost an article of faith; the quite obvious need of the Jews to keep aloof from the people of their surroundings in Babylonia, if they were to continue a racial and religious entity, does not require insisting upon.¹ Therefore, Ezra, as Nehemiah had done, was merely seeking to enforce in Palestine what every Babylonian Jew who had remained faithful to his religion had been taught to regard as essential, i.e. separateness from those of different race and religion, or, as in this case, those who were held to be different in race and religion. Thus, so far as this section is concerned, while one is bound to recognize that the Chronicler's work largely predominates, to deny a genuine kernel would be to disregard the probabilities of the case.

It cannot occasion surprise if among those who had previously come to Palestine many should have taken wives from 'the people of the land';² entering (for them) sanctified ground, the land of their fathers, they came to what were, nevertheless, new surroundings, the local conditions of which they knew nothing; they were for the most part poor and ignorant, belonging to the lower classes—many of the wealthier had been content to remain in the country where they had prospered; it would therefore have seemed to them the most natural thing in the world to intermarry with those whom they regarded as racially identical with themselves, and who worshipped the same God.

Then, as to those belonging to the higher grades of society and to the priesthood, among whom this intermarrying was rife; the former would have found among the ruling circles in

¹ See further on this subject the present writers' *Hebrew Religion: its Origin and Development*, part iii, chap. iii, § 2 (1930).

² The words in ix. 1, 'even of the Canaanites, the Hittites, the Perizzites, the Jebusites, the Ammonites, the Moabites, the Egyptians, and the Amorites', are such an obvious anachronism that one recognizes at once a clumsy addition.

Samaria rather than among the small farmers in the south those with whom to intermarry; that, too, was in the nature of things, for so far as social grade was concerned more fitting mates would be found in the north than in the south. And as to the priests, they would not have seen any objection to marriage with the daughters of men who had always worshipped in the Temple where they (the priests) ministered. That Ezra should have found intermarriage among these so rife is interesting as showing that Nehemiah's effort in preventing this had been in vain. During the interval of thirty years or so, from the time that Nehemiah's activity ceased and Ezra's arrival, the influence of the former's somewhat narrow rigidity had become obliterated; the Palestinian priesthood evidently held that Yahweh could be worshipped even though they did marry women who were not of pure Jewish blood (supposing that they believed this to be the case); and their example would of course be followed by others.

But, however this may be, the important point to emphasize is that the effort to prohibit intermarriage with non-Jews, or with Jews and Jewesses who were of mixed blood, was prompted by nothing more nor less than the desire to make the Jews of Palestine conform to the Babylonian norm. That both Nehemiah and Ezra should have directed their efforts to achieve this is altogether what the facts of the case would lead one to expect.

The central and most important part of Ezra's work was, however, in connexion with the promulgation of the new Law, i.e. the Law which had been in process of formulation under the guidance of the priestly and scribal authorities in Babylonian Jewry.

In the section Neh. vii. 73^b—viii. 12 (we have seen that this belongs to Ezra's memoirs) the account is given of a general gathering of the people 'in the broad place that was before the water gate', i.e. in close proximity to the Temple.¹ Ezra is asked by the people, according to the present narrative, to 'bring the book of the law of Moses', and to read it before them. From this we are presumably to understand that the people knew that Ezra had brought this Law-book with him from Babylonia. That is likely enough if by 'the people' are meant only those who accompanied Ezra, which is no doubt what the Chronicler thought; but in actual fact this cannot possibly have

¹ Cf. the 'Greek Ezra', v. 46.

been the case, because the existence of an indigenous congregation¹ is taken for granted, and rightly so; Nehemiah had seen to that. But it is difficult to see how the indigenous congregation could know that Ezra had brought this book with him. We have here, again, another of the Chronicler's incongruities, which never seem to have troubled him; so long as he had made up his mind that Ezra preceded Nehemiah such things were inevitable.

What is to be understood by the 'book of the law of Moses' is a question upon which opinions differ. The older view that the Pentateuch is meant may be dismissed as out of the question. Others hold that the Priestly Code is meant, not in its present completed form, but such parts of it as had by now been formulated in Babylonia; how much this included it is, of course, impossible to say. Yet others believe that it was the 'Law of Holiness' (Lev. xvii-xxvi); in favour of this is the celebration of the feast of Tabernacles which was kept as a result of the reading of the law-book (Neh. viii. 14-18), and which is prescribed in Lev. xxiii. 39-43.

Whatever was meant by this 'book of the law of Moses', there are two points in regard to it about which there can be no controversy; it came from Babylonia; and it contained things which were new to the people, otherwise its effect upon them would not have been as is described (verse 9). One thing, at any rate, follows from this, viz. that the people must have included many who had not come from Babylonia, i.e. the people of the land; and therefore the words of verse 17, implying that the people consisted only of 'all the congregation of them that were come out of the captivity', do not agree with the facts. Another point worth emphasizing is that what was read to the people consisted of things which applied *generally*; it was a mixed multitude, men and women, and doubtless children, so that it would have been useless to read to them anything which was not of *general* application. This must give us a hint as to the nature of what was read and explained. The most prominent things which were inculcated during the Exile, and which were of general application, were Circumcision, Sabbath observance, and the keeping of the Feasts. These were not in themselves new, but they had received a new emphasis and a new meaning. The first of these, though in the earliest periods of Semitic

¹ See Neh. vii. 73^b, the opening verse of this section.

religion an indispensable rite, never had any great importance attached to it in pre-exilic times; the older laws do not even mention it. During the Exile, however, it became the mark of differentiation between Jew and Gentile, and it received a new meaning in that it came to denote a symbol of purification. The teaching regarding the Sabbath, again, underwent a great change during the Exile; in the laws of the pre-exilic period there is no command to rest on the Sabbath; various reasons are given as to why it should be observed;¹ but during the Exile a new meaning was attached to it, and it came to denote a sign between Yahweh and His people (Exod. xxxi. 12-17, P). And, finally, the Feasts, from being nature festivals, as they had been in pre-exilic times, developed into feasts commemorative of historical events;² in addition some new feasts had come into prominence, New Year's Day and the New Moon festival; the latter was new in so far as it now regulated all the other feasts; the Day of Atonement was also a new observance which may have taken its origin during the exilic period.³

These observances were of paramount importance, and they were incumbent on every one, and therefore of universal application among the Jews. Moreover, they were all new in so far as a new meaning and a new significance was attached to them.

Now when it is said in Neh. viii. 3: 'And he read therein . . . from early morning until midday', and again in verse 8: 'And they read in the book, in the law of God . . .', there is nothing to show that any book *as a whole* was read; the main stress is laid on the explanation to the people of what was read. We are, therefore, led to the conclusion that what was read con-

¹ See Exod. xxxiv. 21 (J); Exod. xx. 8 ff. (E); Deut. v. 12-15 (D).

² See, e.g., Lev. xxiii. 33 ff. (the Feast of Tabernacles); Exod. xii. 1-20 (Passover); both passages belonging to P.

³ In Zech. vii. 5, viii. 19 various fasts are mentioned as having been observed during the Exile in memory of untoward events connected with the fall of Jerusalem; to these belonged one kept on the anniversary of the murder of Gedaliah, viz. on the third day of the seventh month (2 Kgs. xxv. 25, 26; Jer. xli. 1, 2). The Day of Atonement was observed on the tenth day of the seventh month; but no reference is made to this by Zechariah. The inference seems, therefore, justified that the fast on the Day of Atonement had not yet been instituted as a regular obligatory observance. On the other hand, the possibility must not be lost sight of that a day of national mourning for sin, accompanied of course with fasting, may have originated during the Exile without having first been of general obligation. It is the kind of thing the beginnings of which one would reasonably look for during the Exile.

sisted of extracts from the Pentateuch, in the form which it had assumed by this time, and that these extracts were portions which were generally applicable to all the people, and that these portions were among those which had been added during the Exile; they required explanation because, although the subjects dealt with were in themselves familiar to the people, the new meaning attaching to them was not familiar to them. And the subjects were those mentioned above. Certainly, other matters may also have received attention; but the really important subjects were those mentioned because they affected every one.

If this theory as to Ezra's reading of the Law is in any degree correct, it will be seen how important the work of Ezra was; for he was the first to bring the fullness of the Judaism of Babylonian Jewry to Palestine.

We have here, moreover, a further point of interest. It is recognized on all hands that the beginnings of what ultimately came to be the liturgy of the Synagogue are to be sought in the worship of the exiled Jews. As a priest and a scribe Ezra would be not only fully conversant with this mode of worship, but he would also be most anxious to establish it among the Jews of Palestine. The most important element in the synagogal liturgy is, and always has been, the reading from the Law; indeed, it is held by the best authorities that the reading from the Law was the original core of the synagogal liturgy around which the other elements grew up in course of time.¹ Ezra is called upon by the people to read the Law (verse 1); similarly it has always been the custom in the Synagogue worship for the reader of the portion from the Law to be called upon to do so by the congregation as their representative.² In verse 4 it is said that Ezra stood upon a 'pulpit (or tower) of wood, which had been made for the purpose'; from the earliest times it has always been the custom for the reader to stand³ on a platform (*bēma*) in the centre of the synagogue. The standing up of the people for the reading from the Law (verse 5) is likewise the ancient use in the synagogue. It is said, further, that before reading 'Ezra blessed Yahweh, the great God' (verse 6); this is also

¹ Cp. Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, p. 155 (1913).

² e.g. Sammter's notes to *Megilla* iii, in *Mischnaioth*, Theil II, pp. 442 ff. (1887).

³ Cp. Luke iv. 16.

definitely prescribed in the Mishnah, where it is said: 'He who begins the Torah reading and he who finishes it utters a blessing before and after' (*Megilla* iv. 1); the Amen-response by the people (verse 6) after a benediction is also often referred to.¹ In verse 8, where the interpretation of the Law to the people is spoken of, we have the first mention of what came to be a regular institution in the synagogal service;² it was the origin of the Targum.

It must, thus, be recognized that while Ezra cannot be regarded as having laid the foundations of the worship of the Synagogue, for he was only following the usage of the Babylonian Jews, he may have been the first to introduce this new form of worship to the Jews of Palestine.

As compared with what is told about the work of Nehemiah there is but little to be gathered regarding that of Ezra; and it is very obvious that the hand of the Chronicler has been busier in working over the extracts from Ezra's Memoirs than is the case with those of Nehemiah. Nevertheless, though it be but little that we know for certain about Ezra's work, that little is sufficient to show that it was of great importance for the future of the Jews.

The view of some modern scholars—their number is small—that the figure of Ezra is a product of the Chronicler's imagination does not take sufficient account of the nature of tradition among the Jews; elaborated and embellished with all kinds of fantastic ideas, as traditions so often are among them, it is nevertheless the fact that their traditions are not founded on air; there is, at the least, a historic kernel always to be discerned in the traditions of their heroes which have been preserved, even though that kernel be no more than the simple fact that the hero was once a living man, or a clan personified. In view of the Biblical record regarding Ezra, unreliable as much of it may be so far as Ezra himself is concerned, and in view of the mass of post-biblical tradition regarding him, which in their details are no doubt wholly imaginary, it is impossible to believe that such a man as Ezra never existed. It is sometimes pointed out that in the 'Praise of the fathers of old' (*Ecclus.* xlv. 1—l. 24), Ben-Sira, while devoting four lines to the praise of Nehemiah (xlix. 13), does not even mention Ezra; and this is held to support the

¹ e.g. *Taamith* ii. 5; cp. *Berakoth* viii. 8, though here it is in another connexion.

² See *Luke* iv. 20, 21; *Acts* xiii. 15.

theory that Ezra never existed. But it must be remembered that Ben-Sira belonged to that school of thought which soon after his day came to receive the name of the party of the Sadducees; Ezra and all that he stood for, on the other hand, was the champion of those who later came to be known as the Pharisees; the antagonism between those representing these two attitudes of thought existed long before they formed themselves into the definite parties of Sadducees and Pharisees. Therefore, it is not difficult to understand why Ben-Sira should have omitted the name of Ezra from the list of national heroes.

To speak of Ezra as the founder of Judaism is not only an exaggeration, but untrue, because Judaism originated in Babylonia during the Exile long before Ezra was born. But to maintain that Ezra never existed seems to betray a lack of the historic sense.¹

5. THE JEWS DURING THE FOURTH CENTURY B.C.

There are no means of knowing how long Ezra lived, and we have very little knowledge of Jewish history during the period following his activity; indeed, the whole of the fourth century B.C. is almost a blank so far as our knowledge of the history of the Jewish people is concerned. Two or three events can be pointed to, and some inferences may be drawn from Persian history as affecting the Jews; but the sources are very meagre. It is possible that some Old Testament passages throw indirect light on the history of the period, but there is so much uncertainty regarding the dates of these that they can be used only tentatively.

One event is recorded by Josephus (*Antiq.* xi. 297 ff.), which appears to have occurred towards the end of the reign of Artaxerxes II.² It tells of a friendship which existed between Bagoas the Persian commander-in-chief, and Joshua the brother of Johanan the High-priest. Bagoas promised his friend Joshua that he should have the office of the High-priest; Joshua,

¹ For a full discussion of the subject see H. H. Schaeder, *Ezra der Schreiber* (Beiträge zur hist. Theologie) (1930).

² Josephus refers to the king as 'another Artaxerxes'; since the events of his previous chapter refer to the reign of Artaxerxes I, this other Artaxerxes must be his successor of the same name (404-359 B.C.). Why the event referred to above is thought to have happened towards the end of the king's reign will be pointed out. It should be mentioned that some writers place this occurrence in the reign of Artaxerxes III (358-337 B.C.).

reckoning on this, provoked a quarrel with his brother Johanan in the Temple. It is to be presumed, though the account does not say so, that this quarrel was deliberately provoked as a means of getting rid of the High-priest; but it turned out differently from what had been expected; Joshua was killed, not the High-priest. According to Josephus, Bagoas used the murder of his friend as a pretext for punishing the Jews for seven years by imposing a tribute of fifty shekels for every lamb offered in the daily sacrifices.¹ One has only to read the account in Josephus to see that he has brought two events in connexion with one another which were originally quite distinct. The personal affair between Bagoas and Joshua was one thing, and probably of small importance; but the other was a more serious matter; the seven years during which the fine was to be paid was intended to be a punishment of the people since it was to be paid out of the 'public stock', therefore it would seem that it was the people as a whole who had committed the offence; it is possible that there had been a revolt against the suzerain power; the constant struggle going on between the Persians and the Egyptians may well have offered temptations for some action of the kind on the part of the Jews. Towards the end of the reign of Artaxerxes II the Egyptians, as we have seen, were able to occupy the southern coast-land of Syria; this may quite possibly have been sufficient encouragement to the Jews to attempt to assert their independence.

We have indications of a movement on a large scale, in which the Jews took part, during the reign of Artaxerxes III Ochus; this was the Phoenician revolt in 351 B.C. Scanty as the details are regarding this movement which have come down to us, it is clear that the revolt was serious, for it was not until after three years that it was quelled. The isolated references to it which occur in ancient literature show that the whole of Syria was involved, and that it synchronized with a rising in Egypt.² The general unrest which this occasioned tempted the Jews to throw in their lot with the disaffected. When at last the Persians were once more able to assert their authority, the Jews suffered severely; the town of Jericho was destroyed,

¹ The sentence is a little ambiguous: '. . . that before they offered the daily sacrifices they should pay for every lamb fifty shekels.'

² Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, ii. 112, 113 (1866). Schürer, *op. cit.* iii. 7. quotes also from Syncellus, ed. Dindorf, i. 486, and from Orosius, iii. 7.

and many Jews were carried captive to Babylonia, and to Hyrcania on the shores of the Caspian Sea. Hecataeus of Abdera says that 'the Persians formerly carried away many ten thousands of our people to Babylon'.¹

It will thus be seen that our information concerning the history of the Jews during the fourth century is very moderate. From the history of the period that now follows we are able to see in what directions certain trends of thought had been tending during that century; but of the processes themselves we have but the scantiest signs.

One matter, however, concerning the internal affairs of the Jews during this century must be briefly referred to. Sellin² (following von Raad) shows that in the book of *Chronicles* there are two *strata* (possibly three), an earlier and a later; the former (*circa* 400 B.C.) showing predominantly the characteristics of the priestly circles (P), the latter (*circa* 350 B.C.) inclining more to the Deuteronomic standpoint with its prophetic elements, and showing an increasing distaste for the 'P' attitude. The main tendencies exhibited in the later *stratum* are the glorification of the Levites, and, still more, the glorification of David.

This points (1) to the existence of a movement of the lower order of the Levites in opposition to the superior position assumed by the priesthood; in other words, a democratic revolt against the priestly aristocracy; (2) to a tendency favouring the resuscitation of the Davidic monarchy; and (3) to the ideal of inaugurating a more spiritual type of religion, together with a higher conception of liturgical worship.

The more this new theory, with its implications, regarding the composition of *Chronicles* is examined, the more, we believe, will it find acceptance. In the present connexion it is of great interest, for it shows that already as early as the middle of the fourth century B.C. we have the beginnings of those religious and political movements which played so important a part in Jewish history during the succeeding centuries. To these movements we shall have occasion to refer later.

¹ Quoted by Josephus, *Contra Ap.* i. 194.

² *Geschichte des Israelitisch-Jüdischen Volkes*, Zweiter Teil, pp. 172 ff. (1932).

Chapter XI

THE SAMARITANS AND THE JEWS

SUMMARY

[For the understanding of the relationship between the Jews and the Samaritans it is essential that certain elements in the earlier history of the attitude of the northern and southern kingdoms towards each other should be taken into consideration. The main points which emerge here are that the enmity which in early times had existed between the Joseph and the Judah tribes, and later between the northern and southern kingdoms, was always of a political character; racial or religious differences were never causes of antagonism; both were recognized as coming of the same stock, and both practised the same religion. The next point to note is that at the fall of the northern kingdom in 722 B.C. the deported captives consisted of a comparatively moderate number, the great bulk of the Israelites were left in what had been the northern kingdom. From this time to the Babylonian Exile, and even during the Exile, there is much evidence showing that the Samaritans and Judaeans were on friendly terms, regarding themselves as brethren and holding the same religion.

It is then shown that the antagonism between the Jews and Samaritans in the post-exilic period did not arise in connexion with the rebuilding of the Temple. The theory is put forth that this antagonism arose out of the attitude of the ultra-orthodox Jews and their descendants towards the Samaritans whom they regarded as tainted religiously—the supposed racial taint was probably an *arrière-pensée*—the first overt act of hostility (so far as we know) being that referred to in Neh. i. 3 and Ezra iv. 6–23, *circa* 445 B.C.; it was this which occasioned Nehemiah's first visit to Jerusalem. On the other hand, it is held that the age-long tradition of antagonism between north and south—however much discounted by prophetic idealism—was a contributory cause of mutual hatred.

Nehemiah thus found the antagonism between the orthodox Jews—as distinct from 'the people of the land'—and the Samaritans in full play on his arrival. The bitterness was only increased when the latter saw that the city walls were being strengthened. That Sanballat refrained from attack is easily understood, for Nehemiah was the king's favourite and was acting under royal permission; this, however, did not prevent personal animosity on the part of Sanballat, and secret intrigues against Nehemiah.

The question of the racial impurity of the Samaritans does not arise until the time of Ezra.

The permanent enmity between Jews and Samaritans and the

existence of the latter as a separate community with their own sanctuary on Mount Gerizim is not recorded in the Old Testament; but there are some grounds for believing that the beginnings of the actual so-called Samaritan schism are to be sought towards the end of the fifth century B.C., while the rival temple on Mount Gerizim was built in the middle of the following century. By about the year 200 B.C. there is direct evidence that the enmity between Jews and Samaritans was of long standing. In the year 128 B.C. the Samaritan temple was destroyed by John Hyrcanus. About 110 B.C. the province of Samaria was incorporated in the Jewish State; but in 63 B.C., after the fall of Jerusalem, the Samaritans gained their freedom under Roman suzerainty, their country forming part of the province of Syria.]

I. THE EARLIER HISTORY

THE question of the relationship between the Samaritans and the Jews cannot be properly envisaged without a brief glance at the earlier history; for the enmity between the two is at bottom a recrudescence of what had been going on, and had intermittently shown itself, from the earliest days of the nation's history.

We can touch on this here only in the briefest possible way, for we cannot concern ourselves in any detail with the complicated questions arising out of the relationship between the Israelite tribes in the earliest stages of their history; and this is probably where the origin of the whole subject is to be sought.¹

There is sufficient evidence to show without possibility of doubt that the tribe which we know as Judah was settled in the land of Canaan, in its southern parts, long before the conquest. In that conquest the lead at the outset was taken by the tribe of Joseph, which included the tribes of Ephraim, Manasseh, and Benjamin; these were the tribes which had sojourned in Egypt during the Egyptian bondage. The appearance of the Joseph tribe in the land where the Judah tribe had long been established may well have provoked resentment, and it is probable that the seeds of enmity were already sown between the two at this early period. It is evident that the Joseph tribe or tribes remained in the ascendant for a long time; at any rate, the tribe of Judah, so far as the records tell us, did not come into prominence until the days of David. The relations between

¹ Interesting indications will be found in any good history of Israel; e.g. Guthe, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, pp. 22 ff., 48 ff., 64 ff., 72 (1904).

the two seem to be reflected in two passages which, though of very different date, without doubt retain the echoes of early history; they are 1 Chron. vii. 20-7, which tells of earlier losses sustained by Ephraim, but also of later acquisitions; and Gen. xxxviii, which records the ups and downs of the tribe of Judah. Notices like this, though they may appear somewhat cryptic, are seen to be significant, and receive confirmation from the definite data occurring in the later history. Thus, for example, in 2 Sam. xviii. 6-9 we read of a great battle between David's army and Israel, in which the latter are severely defeated; in the reign of Solomon there are visible signs of antagonism between north and south; when all the facts are taken into consideration it seems highly probable that the action of Jeroboam, who belonged to Ephraim, was not simply due to Solomon's despotism—which, however, offered a good pretext—but was rather the culmination of a movement of long standing; his subsequent success points to this. With the division of the kingdom the enmity which had persisted for centuries enters a new and portentous stage. For many long years the bitterness was increased by intermittent warfare. Through the reigns of Rehoboam, Abijah, Asa, and Jehoshaphat, a period of some sixty years, there was intermittent war between north and south; and though in the reign of Jehoshaphat an alliance was made between the two royal houses, this king did not join willingly in the military expedition more or less forced upon him by Jehoram the Israelite king; indeed, Judah seems rather to have been under the suzerainty of the northern kingdom. If, during a large part of the ninth century, there was peace between the two kingdoms, this was not due to the rise of better feelings between them, but simply because the increasing strength of Syria compelled them to cease fighting one another. Moreover, as just pointed out, the alliance between the two kingdoms which was cemented by the marriage of Jehoram of Judah with Athaliah of Israel, really implied the subordination of the former kingdom. Finally, when towards the middle of the eighth century the Assyrian kings came to the west, an entirely new state of affairs arose; and during the evil times through which the northern kingdom was now to go on its way to final destruction the traditional enmity for Judah could find no overt expression. This brief survey, then, will suffice to show that from the

earliest times of the existence of the nation as such, and perhaps even before, the seeds of enmity were sown; and with the course of years this enmity, so far from subsiding, increased in bitterness, and with but few interludes, for which there were special reasons, continued to the end.

In regard to all that has been said, however, there are two points upon which special emphasis must be laid, for it will be seen that they have a direct bearing on the relations between the Samaritans and the Jews which will be discussed later. The first of these is that the enmity subsisting between what were at first the Joseph and Judah tribes, and later the northern and southern kingdoms, was purely *political*; it was always a question first of leadership in war, and later of the acquisition of territory, which was the bone of contention. On the other hand, there was never any question of racial difference being a cause of antagonism; both recognized each other as belonging to the same stock. Nor, once more, was the enmity ever occasioned because of religious differences. In the earliest times that could obviously not have arisen; in later times, it is true, the northern kingdom is often represented as having deviated from the true worship of Yahweh; but an impartial consideration of the relevant data shows that the southern kingdom was not in a position to throw stones here.

2. THE LATER HISTORY

What has been said so far gives one side of the picture. It is quite necessary for the proper understanding of the later 'Samaritan schism' to take account of another factor in the situation. We must begin with 2 Kgs. xv. 29: 'In the days of Pekah, king of Israel, came Tiglath Pileser, king of Assyria, and took Ijon, and Abel-beth-maachah, and Janoah, and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Gilead, and Galilee, all the land of Naphtali; and he carried them captive to Assyria.'² Nothing is said here about the number of those deported. Then, in 2 Kgs. xvii. 3-6, we read that Shalmaneser, who succeeded Tiglath-Pileser in 727 B.C., 'came up throughout all the land, and went up to

¹ In its earliest origins Judah was probably of mixed race.

² The five cities mentioned are all in the land of Naphtali; so that the words 'and Gilead, and Galilee' were either added subsequently, or are an explanatory marginal note, indicating the geographical position of these places, which was later put into the text.

Samaria, and besieged it three years. In the ninth year of Hoshea, the king of Assyria took Samaria, and carried Israel away into Assyria'. The words 'carried Israel away' are, of course, not to be understood in a literal sense of the whole people, as the subsequent narrative shows; moreover, on the Assyrian inscription describing this campaign the number of Israelites deported is given as 27,290 men; not a great number if one considers the extent of the land and the fact that it comprised the most fertile parts of Palestine. Further, it is stated in 2 Kgs. xvii. 24 ff. that the king of Assyria brought men from Babylon, and from Cuthah and other places, 'and placed them in the cities of Samaria instead of the children of Israel; and they possessed Samaria, and dwelt in the cities thereof'. Then follows the curious and unconvincing story of the lions. Some of the aliens, it is said, were eaten by lions, sent by Yahweh because the new-comers did not worship Him. In order to prevent this kind of thing they prevail upon the king of Assyria to send back one of the Israelite priests who had been deported. This priest teaches the people how they ought to worship Yahweh; but he might just as well have stayed where he was, for the people continued to combine the worship of Yahweh with that of their own gods; yet in spite of this there is no more trouble from the lions. The whole of this story reads very suspiciously; it looks as though it owed its position here to later Jewish hatred of the Samaritans. The desire seems to have been to represent the whole population of the land, Israelites as well as the new-comers, as worshippers of alien gods from the very beginning of the new state of things brought about by the Assyrian conquest.

However this may be, it is quite evident from the comparatively small numbers of Israelites deported, according to the Assyrian account, that many of the original inhabitants were left in the land, and this is further borne out by what we learn of the relationship between the southern kingdom of Judah and the Israelites who had been permitted to remain in their land, both during the remainder of the pre-exilic period and after. This demands some consideration.

The northern deportation took place, as we have seen, about 721 B.C. In the reign of Josiah (he came to the throne in 637 B.C.) it is instructive to note that the reform he initiated embraced the inhabitants of part of what had been the northern

kingdom (see 2 Kgs. xxiii. 15-20); and we read also of the children of Israel being present at the celebration of the Pass-over in Jerusalem; 'all Judah and Israel' were present, it is said, at this celebration, which took place in the eighteenth year of Josiah (2 Chron. xxxv. 17-19). Somewhat later, on the eve of the Exile, Jeremiah, speaking in the name of God, gives utterance to these words:¹ 'Again will I build thee, and thou shalt be built, O virgin of Israel. Again shalt be adorned with thy tabrets, and shalt go forth in the dances of them that make merry. Again shalt thou plant vineyards upon the mountains of Samaria. . . . For there shall be a day, that the watchmen upon the hills of Ephraim shall cry, Arise ye, and let us go to Zion unto Yahweh our God.' During the Exile we find Ezekiel speaking in forcible terms about the union of Israel and Judah: 'And thou, son of man, take thee one stick, and write upon it, For Judah and for the children of Israel his companions; then take another stick, and write upon it, For Joseph, the stick of Ephraim, and for all the house of Israel his companions; and join them for thee one to another into one stick, that they may become one in thy hand . . .' (xxxvii. 15-28). In Isa. xi. 13 we have a passage which is probably post-exilic, but it is worth quoting here as showing what some felt in Judah towards their brethren in the north: 'The envy also of Ephraim shall depart, and they that vex Judah shall be cut off; Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim.'

An interesting instance of the same ideal occurs in Zech. viii. 13, where, according to what was apparently once a marginal note which has found its way into the text, it is said that the house of Judah and the house of Israel will partake of the blessings of the Messianic times.²

And once more, another illustration occurs in 2 Chron., though it is fully recognized that the books of the *Chronicles* must be used with caution; in the present connexion it is immaterial whether 2 Chron. xxx, xxxi represent reliable history or the Chronicler's point of view; what is important is the sense of brotherhood between Israel and Judah which is so strongly

¹ xxxi. 4-6; the authenticity of this, as well as a number of other passages in this chapter, 'is acknowledged by the majority of recent commentators' (Skinner, *Prophecy and Religion*, p. 300 [1922]).

² That the words 'O house of Judah and house of Israel' did not form part of the original text is quite clear because it is 'the remnant of this people' (verse 11) to whom reference is being made.

brought out; a few passages are worth quoting: 'And Hezekiah sent to all Israel and Judah, and wrote letters also to Ephraim and Manasseh, that they should come to the house of Yahweh at Jerusalem, to keep the Passover unto Yahweh. . . . So they established a decree to make a proclamation throughout all Israel, from Beersheba even to Dan, that they should come to keep the Passover unto Yahweh.' The message of the king to those in the north runs: 'Ye children of Israel, turn again unto Yahweh . . . that he may return to the remnant that are escaped of you out of the hand of the kings of Assyria . . . ' Words of similar import occur several times; those who were left in the northern parts of Palestine after the Assyrian victories were regarded as brothers by those in the south, and were invited to community of worship in spite of some falling away which had taken place (2 Chron. xxx. 7, 10, 18).

From these passages, belonging some to pre-exilic, others to exilic or post-exilic times (and they could be added to), three prime facts emerge which concern the present inquiry:

i. When, after the fall of Samaria, a certain number of Israelites were carried away, a very appreciable section of the inhabitants was still left in the land.

An interesting sidelight is thrown on the local conditions in the land after the fall of the northern kingdom by two recently published Assyrian texts in which mention is made of the fact that the local governors or administrators were *Hebrews*. The names of two of these are mentioned—Chalbish and 'Arich, the latter name corresponds to Arach, one of the sons of Asher (1 Chron. vii. 39). In one of these texts reference is made to the corn which the Hebrew peasants had to deliver to the Assyrian provincial governor. A very friendly feeling is reflected as existing between the Assyrian provincial governor and the local Hebrew administrator (see Oriens, *The Oriental Review*, vol. i, Nos. 1 and 2 [1926]).

ii. Although Gentiles from different parts of the Assyrian empire were settled in Palestine in place of the deported Israelites, the religion of the latter continued as heretofore; they worshipped Yahweh; and though there was clearly some backsliding, there is no reason to suppose that these northern Israelites were in this respect any worse than their brethren in Judah.

iii. There was no mutual hatred between Samaritans and Jews after the fall of the northern kingdom; nor was there any idea of the northern Israelites being a mixed race. More than

a century later, after the fall of Jerusalem, we read of some of those living in Samaria bringing offerings to Yahweh in the dilapidated Temple in Jerusalem (Jer. xli. 5).

Nothing, therefore, in the pre-exilic literature, nor in that of the Exile, nor even in much of the post-exilic literature, points to the Samaritans as being anything but of the stock of Israel. The one exception is 2 Kgs. xvii. 24; but whether this be regarded as an insertion by one who desired to represent the Samaritans as a mixed race, or whether it is an authentic historical note, it cannot outweigh the otherwise unanimous evidence of the records.

This brief survey of the earlier and later pre-exilic history of the attitude of the northern and southern Hebrews towards each other has been a necessary preliminary for the proper understanding of the subject of the Samaritans and the Jews in the post-exilic period.

3. THE POST-EXILIC SAMARITANS AND THE JEWS, BEFORE THE ADVENT OF NEHEMIAH

The antagonism between the Samaritans and the Jews in the post-exilic period is usually held to have originated in connexion with the rebuilding of the Temple. It will, therefore, be necessary to make a brief examination of the relevant passages.

The first is Ezra iii. 1-7. It is not easy to understand why this passage should ever have been regarded as having anything to do with the rebuilding of the Temple. Not only does it deal exclusively with the setting-up of the altar on its ancient site, but it is said expressly in verse 6 that 'the foundation of the Temple of Yahweh was not yet laid'. Further, it must be obvious, even from the English version, that the words in verse 3, 'for fear was upon them because of the people of the countries', (it should be 'peoples', עַמֵּי הָאֲרָצוֹת), have been inserted, since, firstly, they disturb the text, which should run: 'And they set the altar upon its (ancient) site, and offered burnt-offerings thereon unto Yahweh'; and, secondly, they are inappropriate, because as the text stands it implies that fear of the peoples of the countries was the reason for setting up an altar, which is assuredly not what was meant. This passage, therefore, cannot be regarded as having anything to do with the subject in hand.¹

¹ Of course, if the passage is 'emended' according to requirements, as is done, e.g., by Torrey and Barton, it can be made to mean anything that is wanted.

The next passage is Ezra iv. 1-5, 24.¹ This passage has already been quoted in full above,² where its unhistorical character was dealt with; but something further must be said about it here. The abrupt mention of 'the adversaries of Judah and Benjamin' might be explained as referring to the 'peoples of the countries' spoken of in iii. 3; but we have seen that this verse cannot have belonged to the original text, so that the mention of the adversaries occurs without any connecting link with anything that precedes; in other words, the existence of these 'adversaries' is taken for granted. They came to Zerubbabel with their offer to help as soon as they heard that the building had begun; and their help was refused; but no reason is given for this refusal. When we turn to the books of Haggai and Zechariah we see that there is not a hint of all this, nor yet in Ezra v; indeed, in Ezra v. 5 it is expressly said that there was no cessation of the building, which is in direct contradiction to iv. 4, 5, 24. It is perfectly clear that in this section (Ezra iv. 1-5)³ the Chronicler has made the conditions of the time of Nehemiah apply to the time of Zerubbabel; and what happened later at the time of the building of the walls is reproduced at the time of the building of the Temple.

But there is a further point to be noted. In verse 2 the 'adversaries' are made to say: 'Let us build with you; for we seek your God, as ye do, and to him⁴ we sacrifice since the days of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, who brought us up hither.' The malicious touch, 'your' God, making it appear as though the adversaries implied that he was not their God, betrays the animus of the Chronicler; and this is also shown by the implication that before the days of Esarhaddon they had not worshipped God; if, as the Chronicler implies, the 'adversaries', i.e. the Samaritans, were all the descendants of the original imported colonists (2 Kgs. xvii. 24), then there would be some truth in his implication; but, as we have seen above, a very large proportion of Israelites was left in the land after the fall

¹ Ezra iii. 8-13 deals only with the laying of the foundation, not with the subsequent building, so that there is naturally no mention of Samaritan interference yet.

² p. 89.

³ On verses 4, 5 see below.

⁴ The Hebrew text reads: 'but we have not been sacrificing since . . .', which, of course, makes nonsense of the passage; for some later Samaritan-hater, wishing to blacken his victims, altered the text in order to make it appear as though the 'adversaries' had never worshipped Yahweh. The original Hebrew text, as the Versions and the *Qeri* show, was as given above.

of Samaria; and there had always been a cordial relationship between them and the southern kingdom. The 'adversaries' had, therefore, worshipped Yahweh long before the days of Esarhaddon.

Finally, there are verses 4, 5: 'Then the people of the land weakened the hands of the people of Judah, and troubled them in building . . .'; the term 'people of the land', as already pointed out, always means the Jews who had been living in Palestine, in contrast to the returned exiles. But we have seen that, according to the accurate record of Haggai, it was just the 'people of the land' who, in response to his exhortation, took the initiative in the rebuilding of the Temple; so how can it be said that they frustrated this? They are, therefore, not Samaritans, or 'adversaries'. This confusion is best accounted for by supposing that verses 4, 5 are out of place here, and in reality refer to the subject of the rebuilding of the walls.

These considerations, then, force us to the conclusion that this passage (Ezra iv. 1-5, 24) offers no evidence regarding any interference on the part of the Samaritans with the rebuilding of the Temple.

The only other passage in which reference is made to the rebuilding of the Temple is Ezra v. 1-vi. 22. Long as this passage is it touches only very slightly on the subject before us. It tells of how, under the influence of Haggai and Zechariah, the rebuilding of the Temple was begun by Zerubbabel and Joshua. Hardly had the work been taken in hand before the 'governor beyond the river', i.e. the governor of Syria, Tattenai,¹ arrived on the scene to inquire by what right they were doing this.² Nothing was done, however, to stop the building, which is continued while the governor sends word to Darius for instructions. In reply to his letter, the king puts forth a decree in which permission is given to rebuild the Temple, and the governor is instructed to give all the help required. This he does, and in due time the work is accomplished. Very little need be said in regard to this. Even if we are intended to understand that the Samaritans had supported the Syrian governor in his interference with the building, they did nothing to hinder it. In fact, the whole passage, wherever it came from,

¹ In the Greek Ezra vi. 6 'Sisinnēs'. The name Tattenai occurs on Neo-Babylonian contracts (Meissner, *Zeitschrift für die A. T. Wissenschaft*, pp. 191 f. [1897]).

² The wall is also mentioned.

and however small its value may be,¹ makes it clear that there was not any interference with the Jews in their work of rebuilding the Temple.

This slight consideration of the passages dealing with the rebuilding of the Temple shows, therefore, that so far as any interference by the Samaritans is concerned the whole idea is a fiction of the Chronicler's. His purpose in this has been referred to above.² For our present inquiry the point of importance is that the break between the Samaritans and the Jews did not take place in connexion with the rebuilding of the Temple.

4. THE SAMARITANS DURING THE TIME OF NEHEMIAH

If we are right in holding that the reason for Nehemiah's journey to Jerusalem was the attack on the city and the damage done to the walls (Neh. i. 3), as recorded in Ezra iv. 6-23,³ then it is in this latter passage that we get information of the first overt act of enmity between the Samaritans and the Jews; and as this took place shortly before Nehemiah's arrival, we can date the actual beginning of hostility between Jews and Samaritans as having taken place about the year 445 B.C.; it is, of course, more than probable that antagonistic feelings had been displayed before this; the exclusiveness of exilic Judaism as represented by the returned exiles could not fail both to experience and to arouse bitterness as soon as it came into direct touch with the less developed form of Judaism as practised by the Samaritans. But in Ezra iv. 6-23 we get the first definite indication of the result of this.

Though difference in religious outlook was one of the decisive factors in this quarrel, it was decidedly not the only factor. The traditional enmity between the north and the south, to which allusion was made above,⁴ played a part here too; and in the first instance it was perhaps the dominant issue. At any rate, in Ezra iv. 6-23 there is no hint of religious animosity on the part of the Samaritans; the matter is purely a political one. For a long period of years Judah had been of no account, her

¹ The possibility must be reckoned with that a kernel of historical fact underlies it. Zechariah brings the building of the Temple into close connexion with the near advent of the Messianic king in the person of Zerubbabel (Zech. vi. 9-15). If this had come to the ears of the Syrian governor he may well have thought it advisable to look into the matter. This does not strike one as very likely, but it is a possibility.

² See p. 74.

³ See above, pp. 119 f.

⁴ p. 144.

ineffectiveness was accentuated by the defenceless state of the capital. Samaria, on the other hand, so far as our exiguous material suggests, occupied a more important position; it was a more fruitful land, and must therefore have been the wealthier province; it may also be taken for granted that trade and commerce flourished more there than in the south; above all, Samaria was nearer the centre of authority, the head-quarters of the satrap of Syria being Damascus.

These being the relative positions of Samaria and Judah, what must have been the feelings of the former when it was seen that by degrees the advent of returned exiles from the East was increasing the population of the southern province, and that finally steps were being taken to fortify the capital once more? Envy and fear were the natural result; and their obvious course was to take measures accordingly. This is what is recorded in Ezra iv. 6–23. Obviously, nothing is said in this passage of the friendly relationship which had existed all along between the ‘people of the land’ and the Samaritans.

So that when Nehemiah came the antagonism between the orthodox Jews—as distinct from the ‘people of the land’—and the Samaritans was already in full play; and all that he did in the matter of rebuilding the walls only intensified the bitterness. It is unnecessary to go into the details of Nehemiah’s activity; this has already been done.¹ Only two points need be emphasized: first, that all the efforts to frustrate the building were in vain, which of course had the effect of further embittering the Samaritans (Neh. iv. 1–5, 7–23 [Hebr. iii. 33–7, iv. 1–17])—this is shown especially by the animosity exhibited against Nehemiah personally (Neh. vi. 1–14); and second, that the Samaritans were supported by a considerable section among the wealthier Jews (Neh. vi. 1–14, xiii. 4–9); these must have belonged to the ‘people of the land’.

We must see, then, in the enmity between the Samaritans and the Jews, the recrudescence of an age-long animosity which was primarily of a political character; to this was added a further element, not existing previously, namely, that of a difference of religious outlook. In the earliest days of the return of the exiles this latter was little, if at all, in evidence;² but later

¹ See above, pp. 119 ff.

² Perhaps a beginning of it, but only as regards the ‘people of the land’, is to be discerned in Hag. ii. 10–14.

it becomes prominent, though not before the time of Nehemiah. Last of all, to the political and religious causes of enmity there was added that of racial difference. Concerning this last a further word must be said.

5. THE RACIAL QUESTION BETWEEN JEWS AND SAMARITANS

It cannot but strike one as somewhat remarkable that the question of a difference of race between Jews and Samaritans is not heard of until about a century after the Return. Not until after Nehemiah's second visit to Jerusalem in 432 B.C. is the question raised.

The first passage to be considered in this connexion is Neh. xiii. 1-3. Here it is stated that 'on that day', i.e. the day on which the walls were dedicated, 'they read in the book of Moses in the audience of the people'. In what follows the reference is to Deut. xxiii. 3, 4 (4, 5 in Hebr.): 'An Ammonite or a Moabite shall not enter into the assembly of Yahweh . . . because they met you not with bread and with water in the way, when you came forth out of Egypt;¹ and because they hired against thee Balaam the son of Beor from Pethor of Aram-naharaim, to curse thee.'² Our passage then goes on to say that 'when they had heard the law they separated from Israel all the mixed multitude', so that the Deut. passage is referred to for the purpose of showing that the law forbade intercourse with foreigners. The Deut. passage has, however, nothing to do with this, a special reason being given why Moabites and Ammonites should be excluded from joining with the Israelites in worship; it was not because they were regarded as an alien race. Neh. xiii. 1-3 is placed here because in the section which follows (verses 4-9) mention is made of Tobiah, an Ammonite, who was so closely associated with Sanballat the Horonite (i.e. Moabite).³ It looks altogether too artificial to be regarded as part of the original text.

In the section which follows we get an interesting illustration of the friendly intercourse which must have existed between some of the influential Jews and the Samaritans. In Tobiah, however, Nehemiah had an enemy of long standing; so that it does not necessarily follow that Nehemiah drove him away

¹ This is not in accordance with what is said in Deut. ii. 19-29.

² This is only true of the Moabites; see Num. xxii. 1 ff.

³ See also xiii. 23, 24.

because he was a Samaritan; there is nothing to show that this was the cause. In view of Tobiah's joint action with Sanballat in the matter of the wall-building, it seems more likely that what Nehemiah did was because he did not wish to have a prominent enemy in Jerusalem, rather than that he feared the Temple precincts would be polluted by the presence of an alien.

The first real indication we have that Nehemiah regarded intermarriage between Jews and non-Jews as reprehensible is in the section xiii. 23-31; but even here the primary objection seems to be that the children of these unions were forgetting their native tongue (verse 24). Nehemiah does not hint at separation, but only enforces an oath that such marriages shall not be contracted in future. But there is no word against Samaritans, as such.

Verses 26, 27, which bring in the subject of Solomon and his wives, do not follow logically upon the language objection; they are, we hold, an interpolation by the Chronicler. Verse 28 tells of 'one of the sons of Joiada'—apparently his name is not known—who married a daughter of Sanballat; for this reason Nehemiah chased him away; as the son-in-law of his worst enemy one can understand Nehemiah's action.

Our conclusion so far, therefore, is that there is nothing in Nehemiah's memoirs to show that he objected to the Samaritans on any but political, or personal, grounds. The idea of their being racially impure, or even that they were unorthodox, is never hinted at by him.

6. THE SAMARITANS DURING THE TIME OF EZRA

All that is recorded regarding this subject is confined to Ezra's polemic against mixed marriages; this is contained in Ezra ix, x. As these chapters have already been dealt with¹ but little needs to be added here. Two points, however, must be mentioned:

Ezra's action had the sanction of the Law; the circumstances of his time were, it is true, quite different from those in reference to which, e.g., Deut. vii. 1-3 was written (cp. Exod. xxxiv. 11-16); nevertheless, it could be claimed that the underlying principle was the same. The Deut. passage runs: 'When Yahweh thy God shall bring thee into the land whither thou goest to possess it, and shall cast out many nations before thee . . .

¹ See above, pp. 132 ff.

then shalt thou utterly destroy them; thou shalt make no covenant with them, nor show mercy unto them; neither shalt thou make marriages with them; thy daughter thou shalt not give unto his son, nor his daughter shalt thou take unto thy son.'

The other point is that there is no hint of any Samaritan¹ anger at Ezra's action. Were it not for the subsequent history there would be no reason to suppose that the general attitude of the Jews towards the Samaritans during these years of the post-exilic period had been the cause of permanent enmity between them. That this was so we learn from sources outside the Old Testament. It is to these that we must now turn. This will take us far beyond the period under consideration, but it will be more convenient to deal here with the subject of the Samaritans as a whole.

7. THE SAMARITANS AS A SEPARATE COMMUNITY

The Old Testament has absolutely nothing to say about the Samaritans having separated themselves from the Jews or of their having formed a separate community of their own. But that such a separation took place is a matter of history. The question then arises: At what period did the Samaritans form themselves into a separate community? Unfortunately, as we have seen, there are but few data regarding Jewish history during the fourth century B.C. The first certain date we have concerning the Samaritans is 128 B.C.; in this year John Hyrcanus² destroyed the Samaritan temple which had been built on Mount Gerizim.³ How long it had stood previously to this cannot be said with any certainty. Josephus says it had been built two hundred years before; on what grounds he makes this assertion there are no means of knowing (he wrote centuries after the event⁴), but it is intrinsically probable that in this particular Josephus has recorded true history if we take 200 years as a round number; and for this reason: Ezra who, as we have seen, came to Jerusalem in the year 397 B.C. may reasonably be supposed to have remained there all his life; we do not know how old he was when he came, nor how long he lived; but that he lived to approximately the middle of the fourth century may

¹ The mixed marriages were, of course, not confined to Samaritans.

² He reigned from 134/3 to 104/3 B.C.

³ See Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, i. 264 (1901); Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 256, *Bell. Jud.* i. 63.

⁴ His date is A.D. 37 until some time after 100.

well have been the case. His memoirs give no hint of the Gerizim temple having been built; but, again, we do not know to what date he brings down his memoirs; nevertheless, we cannot be far wrong in supposing that this temple was built somewhere about the middle of the fourth century; while Josephus' history is demonstrably unreliable on account of his hopelessly confused chronology, it is intrinsically probable that Neh. xiii. 28, on which his account is based, may point to the original cause of the actual schism, which in course of time resulted in the building of a rival temple on Mount Gerizim. This passage tells of how Nehemiah drove out one of the grandsons of Eliashib the High-priest because he had married the daughter of Sanballat.

Our conclusion, then, is that the initial act which tended, in course of time, to bring about a schism, was due to Nehemiah's action; and that what ultimately constituted the definite schism, i.e. the building of a rival temple on Mount Gerizim, took place about the middle of the fourth century.

Here it may also be mentioned that, according to Josephus, Alexander the Great settled a number of Samaritans in the Thebaïs; and that Ptolemy I, after his conquest of Palestine, also brought many Samaritan prisoners of war to Egypt, where they settled down in Alexandria (see *Antiq.* xi. viii. 6, xii. i. 1). There must be some truth in this since a village named Samaria, in Middle Egypt, is mentioned on several papyri from the Fayum, belonging to the third century A.D.

In addition to the certain date 128 B.C. we have one other approximate date which should be mentioned here. In Ecclus. i. 25, 26 Ben-Sira says: 'Against two nations doth my soul feel abhorrence, and (against) a third (which is) not a people: the inhabitants of Seir, and Philistia, and that foolish nation which dwelleth in Sichem.' By the last is, of course, meant the Samaritans. The date of this book is approximately 200 B.C.; so that by this time the Samaritans had long been looked upon with contempt by the Jews.

Not long after this we get more definite information about the Samaritans. During the Maccabaeen revolt 'a great host from Samaria' joined the Syrian army under Apollonius to fight the Jews under Judas Maccabaeus, 166 B.C.; the Syrians and their Samaritan allies were badly defeated, and fled before Judas (1 Macc. iii. 12-24). Somewhat later, under Jonathan's

leadership, three districts or toparchies of Samaria were added to Jewish territory (1 Macc. xi. 34); this was in 145 B.C.; and very soon after a fourth Samaritan toparchy came into possession of the Jews (1 Macc. xi. 57). The destruction of the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim by John Hyrcanus in 128 B.C. has already been mentioned; this was followed up towards the end of his reign (he died in 104/103 B.C.) by the capture of the city of Samaria, probably about 110 B.C. or a little later; the province thus became incorporated in the Jewish State through the energy and state-craft of Hyrcanus. In 63 B.C., after the fall of Jerusalem and the subjugation of the Jews by Pompey, the Samaritans regained their freedom under Roman suzerainty, their land forming part of the Roman province of Syria.

In later days, after the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, the punishment meted out to the Jews was shared by the Samaritans, no distinction being made between them by the Roman government; the laws against Jewish observances applied equally to the Samaritans; both suffered severe persecutions.

With the subsequent history of the Samaritans we are not concerned here.

THE ELEPHANTINÉ PAPYRI¹

ELEPHANTINÉ, the ancient name of which was Yeb, is an island in the Nile in Upper Egypt, which lies opposite to Assouan (Syene, cp. Ezek. xxix. 10, xxx. 6). During 1907 and 1908 excavations were carried on here on the site of the ancient habitations by Rubensohn and Zucker on behalf of the Berlin 'Papyrusskommission'. The most important outcome of these excavations was the discovery of a large number of papyri written in Aramaic which had belonged to a Jewish military colony. The question as to when this Jewish colony was founded cannot be answered with certainty. On one of these papyri² it is stated: 'Already in the days of the kings of Egypt our fathers had built that temple in the fortress of Yeb, and when Cambyses came into Egypt he found that temple built, and the temples of the gods of Egypt all of them they overthrew, but no one did any harm to that temple.'³ Of this temple something will be said below, the present point is that reference is here made to Cambyses' invasion and conquest of Egypt, which took place in 525 B.C., so that if at that time the temple of the Jewish community was already standing, the community must have been in existence for a considerable time previously. But, further, in the *Letter of Aristeas*,⁴ 13, an incidental note, evidently of historical value, occurs which mentions that many Jews entered Egypt with 'the Persian' (i.e. Cambyses), and that others had at a still earlier time been sent out as auxiliaries to fight in the army of Psammeticus against 'the king of the Ethiopians'. Whether the Psammeticus here referred to was the first or second of the name is uncertain; some understand by it the first, who reigned 663-609 B.C.,⁵ others, and probably with more justice, believe it to be Psammeticus II (593-588 B.C.); for Herodotus records that this king waged war against the Ethiopians; it is near the Egyptian frontier, with Ethiopia to the south, where Elephantiné is situated. The supposition seems, therefore, justified that Jewish mercenaries were employed by this king to fight against the Ethiopians, and that when the war was over they remained on in the service of the Egyptian king as part of the garrison in the frontier fortress of Yeb; and, further, that the Jews who lived there during the fifth century were

¹ Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus einer jüdischen Militärkolonie zu Elephantiné* (1911); Ungnad, *Aramäische Papyrus aus Elephantiné* (1911); Meyer, *Der Papyrusfund von Elephantiné* (1912); Cowley, *Jewish Documents of the time of Ezra* (1919), and *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (1923), an English translation of the most important of these papyri.

² Sachau, Pap. i. 13, 14.

³ Cowley's translation; this papyrus belongs to 408 B.C.

⁴ Approximately 100 B.C., though some would date it about a century earlier.

⁵ See *Camb. Anc. Hist.* iii. 294.

descendants of those original settlers, possibly augmented by Jews from Palestine¹—belonging now, of course, to the Persian army. This would make Psammeticus II the original founder of the colony; and, as the Ethiopian campaign took place in the sixth year of his reign,² the actual year of the founding of the colony would be 587 B.C. To this there is, however, an objection; not a fatal one, but still one that must be urged. The condition of affairs in Palestine towards the end of Zedekiah's reign was such that the obtaining of Jewish recruits for Psammeticus' Ethiopian campaign would have been, to say the least, a difficult matter. With the certain knowledge that a Babylonian army would presently be invading the land, would it have been a time for Jewish soldiers to forsake their own land for the purpose of enlisting in the Egyptian army? Moreover, was there really any need for Jewish recruits, seeing that Psammeticus was evidently able to obtain as many Greek mercenaries as he wanted?³

Apart from this, however, we believe that there is another way to account for the origin of this Jewish military colony, and one which would offer a more satisfactory explanation, as it seems to us, of one or two other matters in connexion with the subject.

That the colony had been in existence for some considerable time before Cambyzes conquered Egypt in 525 B.C. we have seen. But this being so, how are we to account for the fact that the language of the colonists was Aramaic, and not Hebrew? The Hebrew people of Palestine were certainly not Aramaic-speaking in the seventh or sixth century, not yet even in the fifth; it is true that during the Persian period Aramaic became the official language of the provinces west of the Euphrates; but it was not the language of the Jewish people; and the proof of this is to be seen in the fact that the bulk of *Ezra-Nehemiah* is written in Hebrew (let alone 1, 2 Chronicles), and this was a book which was assuredly meant for the people. The real home of Aramaic was Mesopotamia; and, as Nöldeke says, 'under the Assyrian Empire a very large proportion of the population spoke Aramaic; in it this language would naturally occupy a more important position than it did under the Persians'.⁴ If, therefore, the original members of the colony came from Palestine, their language would be Hebrew; and in this case it is natural to ask when and why they changed their language—questions difficult to answer, though, it is granted, not unanswerable. Sachau, who expresses his surprise that the language of the colonists should be Aramaic,⁵ believes that they brought it with them from Palestine; but his argument is far from convincing; he says: 'The destruction of the

¹ Cp. Jer. xliii, xliv.

² Herodotus, ii. 161.

³ See *Camb. Anc. Hist.* iv. 87.

⁴ In the *Encycl. Bibl.* i. 281.

⁵ 'Für mich hatte diese Tatsache etwas überraschendes.'

Israelite kingdom by Sargon in 723/722, the colonization of the land with foreigners, the destruction of the kingdom of Judah by Nebuchadnezzar in 586, and the deportation of the ruling classes of Judah, entirely altered the conditions of both people and language in the country, with the result that from now onwards the language of the ruling classes and of general intercourse became Aramaic, while Hebrew increasingly assumed the character of the language of religion, of the cultus, and perhaps of the most highly educated. Nevertheless', he continues, 'Hebrew must still have been understood by the people, for Ezra and Nehemiah and Haggai and Zechariah certainly wrote with the intention of being understood by the people. Following the great trend of the time the Jewish colonists on the Nubian frontier used Aramaic for all secular affairs, while they loyally retained the Hebrew proper names handed down by their fathers. In the light of these linguistic-historical circumstances the further fact is to be explained that the writers of the Elephantiné-papyri describe themselves mostly as Aramaeans, only incidentally as Jews.'¹

The language difficulty is not really solved here; 'from this time onwards' is somewhat indefinite; and Sachau clearly does not believe that Aramaic was the common language of the people even during the fifth century, let alone the sixth or seventh. The when and why Aramaic superseded Hebrew among the Elephantiné colonists he explains by saying that they followed the general trend that was going on elsewhere; the possibility of this will not be denied; but they lived far from the centres where this transition was taking place; and there is the obstinate fact that they were speaking Aramaic while their whilom compatriots were still speaking Hebrew, even at the end of the fifth century.

We suggest, therefore, that the original colonists in Elephantiné did not come from Palestine, and were not brought into Egypt by Psammeticus, but that they were Israelites from Assyria and belonged to the second generation of the Israelite captives who were deported after the fall of Samaria, and settled down in Halah and Gozan, both provinces in Mesopotamia, and also 'in the cities of the Medes' (2 Kgs. xvii. 6), considerably further to the east. Those in the Mesopotamian provinces were in the midst of Aramaic-speaking people and would soon have become familiar with Aramaic, which they would have adopted in place of Hebrew.

A number of these Aramaic-speaking Israelites, then, at a somewhat later period, either voluntarily or by compulsion, joined the Assyrian armies in the reign of Ashur-bani-pal² when he invaded

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. xxvii.

² Cp. the quotation from the *Letter of Aristeas* quoted above, in which it is said that Jews entered Egypt with Cambyzes; these Jews must have been descendants of the original Jewish exiles.

Egypt, conquered it, and occupied the land during the years 667 B.C. onwards. Assyrian garrisons were established in different parts of the country.¹ Then, when in 663 B.C. Psammeticus I cleared out the Assyrian garrisons with the help of Lydian mercenaries, some of the Israelites who had belonged to the Assyrian army remained in Egypt and took service under Psammeticus. That they should have seized the opportunity of remaining away from Assyria one can easily understand. Some settled in Yeb, and others probably enough in other localities (cp. Jer. xlv. 1). That in course of time they were joined by others of their own race from Palestine may well have been the case. But the language of the colonists remained what it had been from the beginning, namely Aramaic.

If, now, this suggestion regarding the origin of the Yeb military colony be accepted, there are some points in connexion with the colonists which receive greater significance.

First and foremost, there is the language question; this, so far from occasioning surprise, is seen to be just what one would expect. It would also account for the Assyrian, or Babylonian names of some of the *daglin* or detachments, which occur here and there in the papyri. It explains also why the colonists usually speak of themselves as Aramaeans, and only incidentally as Jews. If, as is probable, some Jews from Palestine joined them in course of time, that would account for the few cases in which the term *Yehudi* (Jew) is used in the papyri.

It explains, further, why, when Cambyses conquered Egypt in 525 B.C. and 'overthrew the temples of the gods of Egypt, all of them',² he should have refrained from doing any harm to the Jewish temple in Yeb; for Cambyses would have recognized, or have had explained to him, that these colonists were not Egyptians, but the descendants of Aramaeans who had belonged to what was now his empire.

It explains also why, in the appeal regarding the rebuilding of their temple, the colonists wrote to the governor of Samaria as well as to the governor of Judaea; Samaria being the ancestral home of most of them. Finally, it also helps to explain the religious anomalies among the colonists to which reference will be made below.

Against this theory Dr. Cowley³ makes the strong point, though not, we venture to think, an insuperable objection, that if these colonists had fought for Assyria against Egypt, Psammeticus would hardly have trusted them as a frontier garrison, even if they had transferred their allegiance to him. To this objection it can, however, be replied that they might well have been recognized by Psammeticus as not being Assyrians; and if, as is not impossible, they explained

¹ There are special reasons why an Assyrian garrison should be stationed near the Nubian frontier, i.e. in Syene and Yeb (see *Camb. Anc. Hist.* iii. 114).

² Sachau, *Pap.* i. 13, 14.

³ In a private communication.

to him that their real home was Samaria, there would have been no reason to distrust them. But another objection that Dr. Cowley raises against this theory here advocated is that the colonists never use the name of Israel in reference to themselves; this, we must confess, is a grave objection, for one would certainly expect them to speak of themselves as Israelites if they came from the northern kingdom. Nevertheless, while we frankly acknowledge that we are at a loss so far as this point is concerned, when all the factors are considered the suggestion put forth above explains various things which are difficult to account for on any other hypothesis.¹

The papyri discovered were sixty-two in number, apart from some fragments; they all belong to the fifth century B.C., their dates falling between 494 and 400. They were all written by Jews, some of whose names are familiar to us from the Old Testament, e.g., Hosea, Azariah, Zephaniah, Jonathan, Coniah, Zechariah, Nathan, Isaiah, and many others.² The contents of the papyri show them to have been for the most part business documents, contracts for loans, conveying of property, and so forth. The most interesting is one written in the year 408 B.C. and addressed to Bigvai (=Bagoas), the governor of Judaea; it tells of how, two years previously, Egyptian priests, with the connivance of the governor, destroyed the temple of the Jews; they were assisted in this by the commander of the garrison, the governor's son: 'They entered the temple, they destroyed it to the ground, and the pillars of stone which were there they broke. Also it happened, five gate-ways of stone, built with hewn blocks of stone, which were in that temple, they destroyed . . . and the roof of cedar wood, all of it, with the rest of the furniture and other things which were there, all of it they burnt with fire; and the basins of gold and silver, and everything that was in that temple, all of it, they took and made their own.'³ The reason why this was done was the annoyance felt by the Egyptian priests and people at the presence of a sanctuary in their midst representing an alien faith. The Egyptians had become at this time more exclusive; they looked upon all aliens as 'unclean'. A worship in which their gods were not recognized was easily calculated to engender bitterness.⁴ In consequence of this outrage a letter was sent to Bagoas 'and to Johanan the High-priest and his colleagues the priests who are in Jerusalem, and to Ostanès the brother of 'Anani, and the nobles of the Jews' (18, 19). No notice was taken of this letter; hence the second appeal contained in this papyrus, the concluding part of which is so full

¹ See further, Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri*, pp. xv, xvi.

² The names Delaiah and Shelemiah (see below) occur respectively in Jer. xxxvi. 12 and xxxvii. 3.

³ Sachau, Pap. i. 9-13; Cowley's translation.

⁴ See further Meyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-81, where the subject is dealt with more fully.

of interesting points that it is well worth giving in full:¹ 'Now your servants Yedoniah and his colleagues and the Jews, all of them inhabitants of Yeb, say as follows,—If it seem good to your lordship, take thought for that temple to build it, since they do not allow us to build it. Look upon your well-wishers and friends who are here in Egypt, (and) let a letter be sent from you to them concerning the temple of the God Yahu, to build it in the fortress of Yeb as it was built before, and they shall offer the meal-offering and incense and sacrifice on the altar of the God Yahu on your behalf, and we will pray for you at all times, we, our wives, our children, and the Jews, all who are here, if you do so that this temple be re-built, and it shall be a merit to you before Yahu the God of Heaven more than a man who offers to him sacrifice and burnt-offerings worth as much as the sum of a thousand talents. As to gold, about this we have sent (and) given instructions. Also the whole matter we have set forth in a letter in our names to Delaiah and Shelemiah the sons of Sanballat, governor of Samaria. Also of all this which was done to us Arsames² knew nothing. On the twentieth of Marcheshwan, the seventeenth year of Darius³ the king.'⁴

A preliminary question immediately suggests itself here as to why this appeal is made to the governors of Judaea and Samaria; why should they be in a position to influence the Egyptian enemies of the Jews in this far distant spot to build, or permit to be built, the destroyed temple? The answer perhaps is that what the Yeb Jews really wanted was that the two governors in Palestine should intercede on their behalf with Arsames; this was done. Whether the temple was actually rebuilt is uncertain; but a third papyrus,⁵ which deals with the same subject, gives the impression that this was so.⁶

The existence of a Jewish temple about the year 590 B.C., so soon after the Josianic reform in 621 B.C., and the Deuteronomic law, promulgated soon after, insisting on the centralization of worship in Jerusalem, raises an interesting question. The Yeb Jews may well have been ignorant of these far-reaching changes in Judaea; but the religious authorities in Judaea in 400 B.C. clearly had no objection

¹ 22-30, Cowley's translation.

² Arsames was probably the viceroy of Egypt; he was absent at the time of the outrage, having gone to the Persian court, according to an earlier passage (4, 5) in this papyrus.

³ Darius II, 424-405 B.C.

⁴ Another papyrus (Sachau, Pap. III) tells of how the governors of Samaria and Judaea, in their reply, bid the Jews apply to Arsames.

⁵ Sachau, Pap. V.

⁶ In reply to the natural question why, if the recipients of the letters were in Palestine, the letters themselves should have been found in Egypt, the answer, in all probability, is that they were drafts or copies of those actually sent; see Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri*, p. 111.

to the existence of another temple; that is the interesting point. The fact is that the Josianic reform in Judaea itself soon became a dead letter, as we have seen, so that it is easy to understand why Johanan the Jerusalem High-priest made no protest.

From a religious point of view, in other respects, these Jews of Elephantiné were a curious mixture. They worshipped the national God under the name of Yahu, or Yaho—the pronunciation is uncertain—who is obviously the same as Yahweh; but there are other gods whom they also worship, Ishumbethel, and 'Anathbethel Herembethel and 'Anathyahu; Bethel was the name of a Canaanite god (Gen. xxxi. 13), whose worship must have been practised by the original settlers when they came from Palestine. The name 'Anathyahu is particularly strange because 'Anath was a female deity, and the combination of her name with Yahu shows that she was regarded as the spouse of Yahu.

Further, they had a developed sacrificial system, as the mention of a variety of sacrifices shows, and a priesthood; they also kept the Passover and the Feast of Unleavened Bread; details are not given, but these feasts are mentioned by name. And another interesting point is that women take a part in worship as they apparently did also in Palestine at this time (cp. Neh. viii. 2, 3); it became very different in later post-exilic times.

For further details regarding both the religious and social life of the Elephantiné Jews the literature referred to above should be consulted.¹

¹ For the religion see especially Meyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 38–67.

Chapter XII

THE RELIGIOUS, SOCIAL, AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS DURING THE PERSIAN PERIOD

THE attempt must now be made to describe and picture the state of the Jewish people during the Persian period (538-330 B.C.) as a whole. This is not easy owing to the exiguous data; our conclusions will necessarily be largely based on inference, and the imagination must to some extent be brought into play; but in the circumstances this can hardly be avoided.

Some details have, it is true, been given in chapters vii and x, § 5, but our endeavour will now be to offer a further and more general account of how the Jews fared during this period.

I. RELIGION

It was a period which, upon the whole, was favourable for the Jews; the peace and quietude which, for the most part, they enjoyed, gave them an opportunity of devoting themselves to religious thought and practice; of this they took full advantage.

The development of the Law and all that this involved has been referred to above; that this development proceeded during the two centuries of the Persian overlordship is certain, as can be seen, e.g. from the book of *Malachi*; especially did the successors of Ezra continue his work zealously. It cannot be too strongly insisted upon that it was during the Persian period that the Jewish people were made the people of the Law; entrenched behind this rampart they were able, in spite of the falling away of many in later times, to withstand the insidious encroachments of Hellenistic influence, and, as a nation, to remain faithful to the religion of their fathers.

The religious leaders, in whom was centred also the civil authority, were left entirely free by the suzerain power to rule their people according to their own principles and convictions, and the influence of the governing classes was of course paramount; the people, in the main, followed the dictates of their priestly rulers in all that appertained to living according to the Law.

'Semi-independent religious communities like that of Judah were not unknown in the Near East during the Persian and Hellenistic

periods. . . . There is little doubt that at least from the Persian and Greek point of view the religious community (or 'nation') of the Jews in Palestine was looked upon as one more of these sacred communities, centred in a temple, and supported by its surrounding land—which belonged, theoretically, to the god, i.e. to Yahweh. The 'clerical form of local organization' was carefully fostered by the Persians. Details of fiscal, judicial, and religious administration were left to the high priests, who were responsible for law and order within their own territory, and for the regular payment of the tribute exacted by the Empire (i.e. by the 'Great King', who personified its exalted power) through the provincial satrap or governor.¹

Together with the ardent attention given to the study and inculcation of the Law for the guidance of the people in their everyday life the still higher requirements of worship were met. The elaboration of the Temple services continued, though, as the Chronicler shows, it was not until towards the end of our period that the Temple cult began to become imposing.

Further, it is in the highest degree probable that something corresponding to the later synagogal worship was also developing. On this latter we have, it is true, no direct evidence; but the need of some form of worship during the Exile to take the place of the Temple services compels us to assume that the germs of what later became the liturgy of the synagogue was already in existence at that time; and if this was so, the returned exiles would not have abandoned that to which they had become accustomed; and this, in spite of the Temple services, a form of worship which was new to them.² The small communities which in course of time arose in the surrounding country would need places of worship of their own; and, as sacrifices could be offered only in the central sanctuary at Jerusalem, the form of worship would be modelled on what had originally been introduced by the returned exiles.

Thus, religious activity during the Persian period centred on the development of the Law, the worship of the Temple, and the services in the local houses of prayer. But there was another element in the religious sphere which was likewise of great

¹ Grant, *The Economic Background of the Gospels*, pp. 20 f. (1926).

² See Causse, *Les Dispersés d'Israel*, pp. 73 ff. (1929), who combats the view of M. Friedländer (*Synagoge und Kirche in ihren Anfängen*, pp. 53 ff. [1908]), and Bousset (*Die Religion des Judentums*, pp. 108, 171 ff. [1926]), that the synagogue was unknown in Palestine until Maccabaeian times. See also what has been said above, chap. x, § 4.

importance, and which cannot have been without some effect upon the people as a whole.

This is not the place to deal in any detail with the subject of Persian eschatology and its influence upon the Jews,¹ but it is certain that Jewish eschatology was saturated with Persian elements. Prominent among these was the idea of the final world-judgement, which Jewish eschatologists adapted and applied to the overthrow of the Gentiles at the Messiah's advent. But connected with this world-judgement was the teaching that it would be immediately preceded by tumults and wars among the nations. Now the unrest in the world of their surroundings aroused the expectations of Jewish apocalyptists regarding the near approach, as they believed, of the end of the present age. One has but to recall the conquests of Darius I and of Xerxes I, and the risings following upon the murder of the latter, as well as the revolts during the reigns of Xerxes II, Darius II, Artaxerxes II, and Artaxerxes III, to realize the constant unrest that was prevalent. This was believed by the Jewish Seers to herald the near approach of the Messianic age. How this affected the bulk of the people we have no means of knowing; but it cannot be doubted that eschatological teaching considerably influenced them, and if the belief in the impending end of the present world-order was at all widespread among them in times of tumult it is evident that their interest in the things of every day would have waned, and during such times of religious excitement the ordinary social and economical affairs would be neglected.

As to literary activity during this period, which among the Jews was always closely associated with religion, opinions differ. Taking the period as a whole, the time was not unfavourable for work of this kind; the question is whether the circumstances and conditions of the time were such as would be likely to produce men of adequate intellectual and spiritual power for giving to their people writings of permanent value. Neither in

¹ See the present writers' *Hebrew Religion: its Origin and Development*, part iii, chap. xv; and for a very full discussion on the whole subject von Gall's work *Βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ* should be studied. Though we believe that this writer is wrong in denying the existence of any eschatological conceptions among the Hebrew prophets in pre-exilic times, as against writers like Gunkel and Gressmann, the subject of the influence of Persian eschatology on Judaism has never before been dealt with in so illuminating and thorough a way, not excepting such experts as Söderblom, Darmesteter, and Böhlen.

the days of Haggai and Zechariah, nor in those of Nehemiah and later of Ezra, judging from the sparse details we have, do we receive the impression that there was likely to be much literary activity; and the scribes, to whom we might look for such activity, were too much occupied with the study and elaboration of the Law. On the other hand, it is unthinkable that any period in the history of such a nation as the Jewish could be entirely barren of the utterances and writings of seer, preacher, or teacher. Apocalyptic writers, of whose works not much more than fragments have come down to us, there certainly were; with the development of the Temple worship it is impossible to believe that no psalmists existed; and the study of the Law must obviously have produced some of the later parts of the Pentateuch. In addition to this there is much reason to believe that wisdom writers were active,¹ and most critics hold that Prov. i-ix was the product of the Greek period, in which case the thought-movement which gives rise to it will belong to the late Persian period.

What has been said, then, suggests that so far as religion was concerned, the Jews, during the Persian period, and more especially during the later part thereof, were being instructed in the tenets of Judaism by conscientious teachers. That the teachers could not be compared with the prophets and seers of earlier times goes without saying, but then it was a day of small things. The time was soon to come when there would be a great testing, and the fact that, in spite of all, Judaism survived is an eloquent testimony to the religious teachers of the Persian period.

2. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS

It is clear enough from Hag. i. 6, 9-11, ii. 19, that the first company of the returned exiles suffered, in common with their compatriots in Palestine, grievous hardships. Drought had ruined the yield of field and vineyard, and there was an insufficiency of food. The poverty of both the people of the land and the newly arrived exiles made it impossible for them to renovate the dilapidated temple; it was only with the help of gifts from their brethren in Babylon (cp. Zech. vi. 9-15, Ezra ii. 68, 69) that they were able, after a considerable time, to complete this work.

¹ See the present writer's *The Book of Proverbs* (Westminster Com., p. xxvi [1929]).

These adverse conditions will not have continued indefinitely; but even when brighter times came the circumscribed area in which the Jews lived would have made real prosperity impossible. If we may judge from Neh. xii. 28, 29, their territory comprised no more than Jerusalem and the country immediately surrounding the city. They were cut off from the coast and the great trade routes by Phoenician settlements, so that opportunities for commerce were almost wholly excluded. On the south of Judaea the Edomites encroached more and more; on the east of Jordan the country was in possession of the Moabites and Ammonites. The Jews were, therefore, shut in on the west, south, and east. Only towards the north was there any opportunity to spread, and considerable intercourse took place among the Samaritans (Neh. vi. 17, 18, xiii. 28) until this was hindered by Ezra. The whole of Jewish territory cannot have comprised an area of more than twenty to thirty miles length and breadth, and much of this was unfitted for agriculture.

It can hardly be doubted that life was uneventful and uninspiring; and being almost entirely out of touch with the world of their surroundings the Jews were forced into a state of economic self-dependence which, from the nature of the case, could not produce much wealth; under such conditions the tribute exacted by the Persians cannot have been great. According to an episode recorded by Josephus there would, however, seem at times to have been other ways whereby the Jews were mulcted. He tells how on one occasion—this was during the later part of our period—Bagoas, one of Artaxerxes' generals, entered the Temple and laid a tribute on the Jews; this high-handed proceeding was, as a matter of fact, due to a quarrel between the brothers John and Joshua about the High-priesthood.¹

¹ *Antiq.* xi. 297-301. While there is no reason to doubt that this did actually occur, it is probable that Josephus has confused names and dates; this was, however, excusable, as may be seen from the following details. Artaxerxes II (404-359 B.C.) had a general named Bagoas who was in Jerusalem when John was High-priest. From the Elephantine papyri we know that a Bagoas was the Persian governor of Judaea during the reign of Darius II (423-404 B.C.), and that John was High-priest at this time (411/10 B.C.). Further, there was a general named Bagoas who commanded the Persian army in its successful campaign against Egypt in 343 B.C., in the reign of Artaxerxes III (359-338 B.C.); this is apparently the Bagoas to whom Josephus refers, but he has confused the two officers of the same name, and it is probable that the episode referred to took place in the reign of Artaxerxes II.

The outrage may have been an isolated one, but it shows, at any rate, a somewhat precarious state of affairs for the Jews if they were liable to be robbed in this way; the extra tribute was laid upon them for seven years. The money was taken from the public treasury, and individuals may have suffered only indirectly, nevertheless there cannot have been much wealth in the country yet, and any loss would have been felt.

From another point of view the episode reveals a somewhat unhappy state of affairs; the quarrel between the two brothers for the High-priesthood, owing to which Joshua was killed by John in the Temple, is a very ominous sign of the deplorably low conception entertained regarding the sacred office by both brothers; by Joshua, who designed with the help of Bagoas to oust his brother; by John, who was not afraid to commit murder in the very sanctuary though filling the office of High-priest. Reading between the lines the surmise is justified that the episode witnesses to a strife of parties headed respectively by the two brothers.

A brighter sidelight is thrown upon the condition of things during this later part of the Persian period by the fact that there are grounds for believing that missionary enterprise was undertaken for the propagation of Judaism, and that possibly even some extension of territory took place.¹ It is, however, necessary to guard against assuming too much here. Causse has shown that though there may be some truth in this, both the acquired territory and the missionary activity, so far as the Jews of Palestine were concerned, must have been of very moderate proportions.² His contention is borne out by the significant fact that the excavations on ancient sites in Judaea show a distinct break in archaeological 'finds' during the fifth and fourth centuries; but this is not the case on sites which were inhabited by non-Jewish people, e.g. the Phoenician settlements in Askalon, Tell el-Hesi, and Tell Sandahannah.³ This does not support the idea of any considerable expansion of Jewish territory during these centuries.

Reference has been made above⁴ to the wars waged by the

¹ Wellhausen, *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, pp. 202-6 (1901); Kittel, *op. cit.*, iii. 677 ff.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 54-8.

³ Thomsen, *Palästina und seine Kultur in fünf Jahrtausenden*, pp. 88 ff. (1931).

⁴ See pp. 66, 70.

Persians at various times; it was especially the struggles between Persia and Egypt which would have affected the Jews; for it was not only that they would have been compelled to join the Persian armies, there was also the further fact that the passage of these armies through their country would entail much hardship upon the inhabitants; supplies of all kinds would be needed, and foraging parties scouring the land would gather what they could. Even though the line of march lay some distance away, and even though the walls of Jerusalem may have defied armed bands seeking provisions, the country round was open, and there were no means of resisting those whom necessity forced to lay hands on what they could. It is not difficult to picture the plight of the Jews during such episodes, suffering, as they must have done, long after from the effects of such raids. Towards the end of our period, during the reign of Artaxerxes III Ochus, there was the deportation to Hyrcania and Babylonia;¹ what the numbers of the deported were is not known, but to a small community, such as the Jews still were, the loss of able-bodied men cannot have been without detriment. It must also have been a serious blow to them to have witnessed the destruction of one of their few important cities, such as Jericho.

The evidence shows us, then, that during the Persian period while, upon the whole, the people had little to complain of from their rulers, circumstances constantly arose which entailed hardship. There was but little wealth, and economic conditions left much to be desired. In the religious sphere they prospered, but in other respects their condition, if tranquil, was for the most part uneventful and subdued.

¹ See above, p. 140.

BOOK II
THE GREEK PERIOD

Chapter XIII

THE INFLUENCE OF HELLENISM UPON THE JEWS

SUMMARY

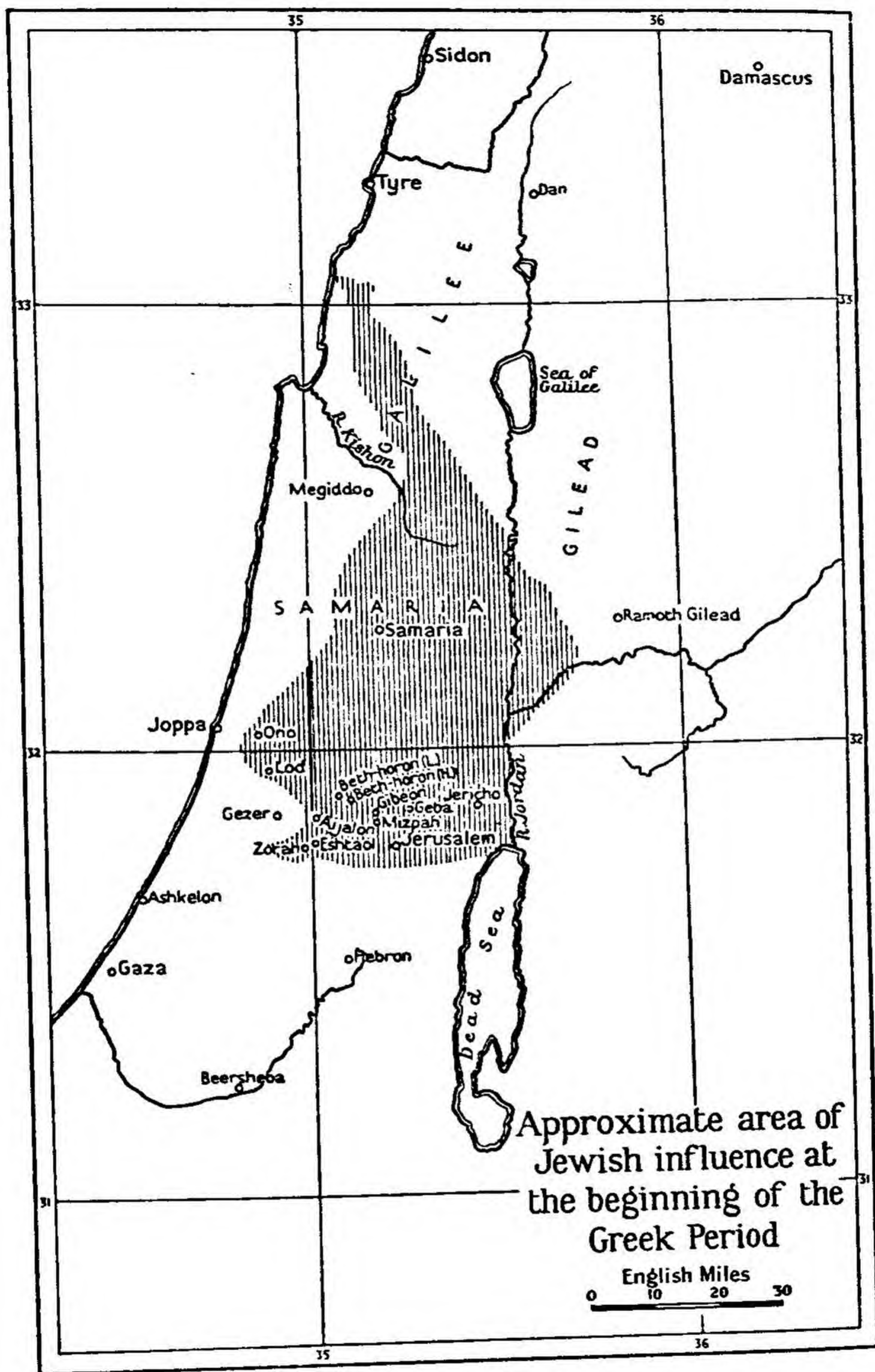
[The nationalistic and universalistic attitudes of mind among the Jews during the Greek period resisted or welcomed, respectively, the influence of Hellenic thought and culture; but it could not be wholly resisted even by the nationalists. Greek influences upon the Jews were exercised primarily and more potently upon those living away from Palestine; but in the political and social spheres many cities in Palestine became wholly Greek in population and government, thus influencing neighbouring cities, while even in many cities which were preponderantly Jewish Greek customs prevailed.]

In the domain of literature we have first and foremost the Septuagint; outside the Greek Canon there were various important Jewish works written in Greek. So far as the Jewish religion was concerned the fundamental tenets of Judaism remained entirely uninfluenced; but, especially among the Jews of the Dispersion, Greek thought profoundly affected the religious outlook of the Jews in various directions.]

THE profound influence which Greek ideals and Greek culture had upon the world in general was not likely to have left the Jews untouched; and this in spite of the fact that there was much in Jewish tradition, thought, and custom, which would in the nature of the case offer opposition to such influence. On the other hand, it must be recognized that the universalistic tendency which was characteristic of some of the best thought in Israel was a factor which could not have failed to present a sympathetic attitude to a great deal that Hellenism¹ offered. It can be seen from the works of Hecataeus of Abdera (he lived about 290 B.C.) quoted by Reinach² that the Jews came under this influence very early in the Greek period. He says: 'Under the rule of nations during later times, namely, of the Persians and Macedonians . . . the Jews greatly modified the traditions of their fathers'. The two mental types, that which clings to tradition with its time-honoured memories, and that which welcomes new thought, were, as we know, both to be found among the Jews; but the sequel was to show that, lacking the great Greek principle of observing the sense of proportion,

¹ 'Hellenism is merely a convenient label for the civilization of the three centuries during which Greek culture radiated far from the homeland' (Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilization*, p. 2 [1930]).

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 19 f.



the Jewish nation as a whole held to tradition, and in the main (though not wholly, as will be seen) refused the wider outlook which Hellenistic thought invited.

I. GREEK INFLUENCE IN THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SPHERES

The conquests of Alexander paved the way for the march of Hellenism which followed in his wake. Close upon the soldiers followed the merchants; and very soon Greek colonists arrived to settle down permanently in the newly conquered lands; and when once colonies of Greek-speaking people were founded they acted as centres from which Hellenism was disseminated. After the downfall of the Persian empire many Jews emigrated from Persia to the west, and settled down in these Greek centres of civilization; and there is evidence to show that before very long communities of Jews were to be found in almost every part of the civilized world.¹ This direct contact with Greek-speaking peoples, Greek religion, thought, culture, customs, &c., could not fail to affect the Jews in a variety of ways. At the same time, it is to be noted that the liberty, characteristic of the Greek *régime*, permitted communities of different religions in one and the same city to exercise their religious rites without let or hindrance. It followed, therefore, that Jewish communities living in Greek cities had full liberty in all that concerned religious practice. The taste for commerce which the Jews had imbibed, as we have seen in Babylonia during the Exile,² had much to do with their flocking to mercantile centres; and as such centres were predominantly on the coast we find that cities on the seaboard were much affected by Jews. The most important of such centres was Alexandria. Long before the time of Alexander Jewish settlements had, as we know, been founded in Egypt; but the Jews of Egypt were specially attracted to Alexandria because of the privileges accorded to them. Important evidence in regard to this, though belonging to later times, is an edict of Tiberius in which earlier conditions are referred to, quoted by Josephus :³

‘Since I am assured that the Jews of Alexandria, called *Alexandrians*, have been joint-inhabitants in the earliest times with the Alexan-

¹ See Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, iii, pp. 1-188 (1909). On the cities founded by the *Diadochi*, see Hölscher, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-66, and see further, p. 189.

² See above, p. 45 (cp. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 487).

³ See above, p. 159; so that Josephus' evidence can hardly be accepted when

drians, and have obtained from their kings equal privileges with them, as is evident from the public records that are in their possession, and the edicts themselves; and that after Alexandria had been subjected to our empire by Augustus, their rights and privileges have been preserved by those presidents who have at different times been sent thither; and that no dispute had been raised about those rights and privileges. . . . I will, therefore, that the nation of the Jews be not deprived of their rights and privileges . . . but that those rights and privileges which they formerly enjoyed be preserved to them.'

That this, however, does not mean that the Jews of Alexandria enjoyed the full rights of citizenship is conclusively shown by Tarn; 'this was always impossible', he says, 'for full citizenship, i.e. participation in government and legal administration, entailed worship of the city gods, which to a Jew meant apostasy. . . . Josephus is sometimes untrustworthy over Hellenistic matters . . . but in this case, though his terminology is confused, I rather doubt if he meant to claim full citizenship for the Jews. . . .'¹ As he remarks elsewhere, the Jews in these Hellenic cities formed a *politeuma*, or corporation, 'which made them quasi-autonomous "settlers" . . .'² Elsewhere Josephus says that the Jews of Alexandria had 'a particular place, that they might live without being polluted (by the Gentiles), and were thereby not so much intermixed with foreigners as before';³ this was done by the successors of Alexander.⁴ On the other hand, Philo says that the Jews lived in all parts of the city in his day.⁵ While Alexandria was by far the most important Jewish centre outside Palestine, there were many other Jewish settlements in Egypt; and when Philo says that there were in his day a million Jews dwelling in every part of Egypt from Libya to the he says that the Jews were not traders (*Contra Ap.* i. 60); see, moreover, *Ecclus.* xxvi. 29—xxvii. 3, which is quite conclusive; in spite of their almost exclusively agricultural pursuits in earlier days, many Jews undoubtedly were traders from early post-exilic times onwards. Tarn says: 'They took up land, and were often employed as tax-collectors, but seldom did banking or money-lending and hardly ever occur as traders' (*op. cit.*, p. 188, cp. p. 229); this is more especially in reference to Egypt, and so far as the available evidence of the papyri is concerned the statement is unquestionably justified; but in view of the affirmative evidence of Babylonian business tablets and of Ben-Sira (his grandson translated *Ecclus.* in 132 B.C. in Egypt) we are impelled to believe that there were Jewish traders in various parts of the world.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 192; also Edwyn Bevan in a private communication.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 191.

³ The Jewish quarter in Alexandria was situated on the east of the promontory of Lochias, not far from the royal palace. ⁴ *Bell. Jud.* ii. 488. ⁵ *In Flaccum*, § 8.

Ethiopian frontier,¹ it is obvious that such centres must have existed centuries before his time for the Jewish inhabitants to have reached this number.

But it was not only in the Egyptian Dispersion that conditions were such as to expose the Jews to Greek influences. During the century which followed the time of Alexander there was much which helped to further the Hellenization of the Jews in Syria and Palestine. The policy of the Ptolemys towards the Jews was, upon the whole, favourable to this process. The Jews were placed upon the same footing as their co-religionists in Egypt; they were permitted perfect freedom in the exercise of their religion and of their religious customs; their loyalty was such that they not infrequently formed the garrison of the royal fortresses; and the presence of Jewish soldiers in the Ptolemæic armies, of which there is evidence, points to the reliance placed on them. Favourable treatment was also accorded to the Jews by Seleucus in the northern parts of Syria. Such treatment would naturally incline the Jews favourably towards their rulers; and this was a not unimportant factor in the new conditions by means of which Greek thought and culture were exercising their influence upon them. Above all, the absence of persecution had an immense effect in permitting the influx of the Greek spirit into Jewish minds; whereas, as the later history shows, religious persecution had just the opposite effect to that intended.

Then, again, it was the policy of the Egyptian kings to foster intercourse between their Hellenic and Asiatic subjects; a notable example of the way in which this was done was by planting Greek settlements in Palestine; in this they had the precedent of Alexander to go upon, for he had settled Macedonians in Samaria.² Thus, one result of this was the rise of a number of new Greek cities³ in Palestine; the Greeks and Macedonians who consequently became settlers there constituted before long a numerous and influential element in the population; in many cases a city which had been largely Jewish became to a great extent, in some cases predominantly, Greek; such were, for example, Raphia, Gaza, Ascalon, Azotus, Caesarea, Ptolemæis, and others. This was not confined to

¹ *In Flaccum*, § 6.

² Eusebius, *Chronicon* (ed. Schoene), ii. 114.

³ For a very interesting and informing account of the Greek cities in general see Tarn, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-116, 129 ff.

western Palestine; many cities in eastern Palestine became similarly centres of Greek influence. Invariably in these cases the government of the city was framed on the Greek model, i.e. the annually elected representatives of the people forming the *Boulé*, the 'council', or the governing body. A number of the cities in which Greek colonists had settled down inscribed their 'autonomy' on their coins; this was, of course, only in reference to their local affairs; but not all Greek cities in the realms of Hellenistic kings had the right of coining money; a community might have the power of internal self-government on Greek lines without being allowed the right of coinage.

This independent organization of large municipal communities made a very great difference to the political life of Palestine. It is true, as Schürer has pointed out, that this was no novelty in Palestine, where from of old the large towns of the Philistine and Phoenician coasts had formed centres of political life. The influence of Hellenism marks, however, a turning-point in this respect, as in others; for, on the one hand, it transformed the existing communities fundamentally, while, on the other, it founded numerous new ones and made the municipal communities in general *the basis of the political organization of the country* in a far more thorough manner than before. Wherever Hellenism penetrated, and especially on the Philistine coast and the eastern boundaries of Palestine beyond Jordan, the country districts were grouped around single large cities as their political centres. Each of such communities formed a comparatively independent whole, managing its own internal affairs; its dependence upon the rulers, whether of Egypt or, later, of Syria, consisted only in the recognition of their military supremacy, the payment of taxes, and certain other performances. At the head of such a Hellenistically organized community was a democratic senate of several hundred members.¹ It cannot be doubted that the organization on Greek models of the local government of Jewish cities must have brought a new mental outlook to the Jews.

Although, as we have seen, the Jews of Greek cities did not enjoy the rights of citizenship, and could not, therefore, as a body—whatever may have been the case with individuals who had renounced their religion—take an active part in the government, nevertheless, as a corporation (*politeuma*) forming

¹ Schürer, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 95.

part of the population of the city, they must have been impressed by the fact that they belonged to a community much larger than their own body, and thus a wider outlook and a deeper insight into the world of their surroundings would have been engendered.

A potent means of commending Hellenism, especially to young Jewish manhood, was the gymnasium. Nothing could appeal more to young men than this ancient equivalent to modern sport; and the contact with Greek youths in the games and contests of the gymnasium had probably as much to do with alienating young Jews from their traditional way of envisaging things as anything else.

'The gymnasiums', says Dr. Edwyn Bevan, 'were as much of the essence of a Greek state as the political assemblies; they expressed fundamental tendencies of the Greek mind—its craving for harmonious beauty of form, its delight in the body, its unabashed frankness with regard to everything natural. . . . The gymnasiums also served other by-ends besides the one of bodily training; they were the social centres in which the life of a Greek youth got those interests which go with companionship, the spur of common ambitions, and *esprit de corps*. From the days of Alexander and his successors we find as a regular institution in Greek cities guilds of young men, called *epheboi*, attached to the gymnasiums and organized under state control. A young man might remain in the ranks of the *epheboi* for a year. He wore a distinctive uniform, some variety of that Greek country dress—the dress worn for hunting, riding, travelling—which consisted of broad-brimmed hat, *chlamys* broached about the shoulders, and high-laced boots. . . . In state processions the body of *epheboi*, wearing sometimes even crowns of gold, formed a brilliant cluster in the spectacle.'¹

2. GREEK INFLUENCE IN THE SPHERE OF LITERATURE

We have referred so far to the influence of Hellenism in the social and political spheres. Something must be said next about this influence on the literature of the Jews. This is to be observed in two ways: in form and content. With the spread of the Greek language much Jewish literature came to be written in Greek instead of in Hebrew; while with the spread of the Greek language there ran concurrently the spread of Greek thought and ideas.

So far as the Hebrew Old Testament is concerned the former

¹ *Jerusalem under the High-priests*, p. 35 (1904).

of these does not, of course, come into consideration, excepting in the case of a few isolated Greek words in the book of *Daniel* which appear in an Aramaized form.¹ But the influence of Greek thought is held by many scholars to be discernible in *Ecclesiastes*. This is not the place to go into the details of the subject; it must suffice to say that while the possibility must be recognized of the writer having possessed a smattering of some items of Greek philosophy, no real influence of Greek thought occurs in the book.²

It is different when we pass to Jewish literature other than the Hebrew Old Testament. From the middle of the third century B.C. to about A.D. 100 a great mass of Jewish Hellenistic literature came into being. First and foremost, the Septuagint. 'In the study of Hellenistic civilization', says Deissmann, 'i.e. the civilization of the Hellenistic world of the Mediterranean in the post-Alexandrian and Imperial ages, a study which has developed so enormously during the last twenty or thirty years, it will be more and more clearly recognized that amid the vast mass of witnesses to that civilization the Greek Bible (Old and New Testaments) is the chief.'³ In this case it is the outward form which witnesses to Greek influence; for while it is held by many, and no doubt rightly, that in a number of instances a superficial knowledge of some points of Greek philosophy may be discerned, nobody would maintain that in the contents of the Greek Bible as a whole any serious marks of Greek influence are to be found. But one exception to this general rule does exist, namely, the *Book of Wisdom*; there can be no doubt that in this book the writer has to some extent been influenced by Greek thought; by some writers this has been greatly exaggerated; but we may with confidence accept Goodrick's sober estimate that 'the writer's philosophy is that of the market-place, or at least of the lecture-room. It is with the rhetorical philosophers only that he is concerned. Of exact writers like Aristotle he knows nothing. . . . What *Wisdom* knew of Aristotle came through Stoic teaching.'⁴

Books which show markedly the influence of the Greek spirit are outside of the Greek Canon. Thus, in the third book of the

¹ Dan. iii. 5, 7, 10, 15; they are names of musical instruments.

² For a concise but very sane discussion on the subject see Odeberg, *Qohaelaeth*, pp. 89 f. (1929).

³ *The Philology of the Greek Bible*, p. 15 (1908).

⁴ *The Book of Wisdom*, p. 410 (1913).

Sibylline Oracles the writer has clothed his work in a Greek dress in order to commend Judaism to the Greek world. In some of the Apocalyptic books Greek thought is sometimes to be discerned. Another example is the fourth book of *Maccabees*, the writer of which seeks to commend Greek philosophy which, he maintains, is embodied in the Mosaic Law; 'the avowed theme is the combination of Greek philosophy with Jewish religious beliefs . . . the language of Stoicism is frequently used—the four virtues, and technical terms such as Reason, the Passions, &c.'¹ Then, too, there are the writings of Philo; of him it must suffice to say that no Jew was so immersed in the spirit of Greek wisdom, nor did more to try to harmonize Greek and Hebrew thought.² Lastly, mention should be made of the large number of Hebraized Greek words which were incorporated in the language of the Jews—this is abundantly seen in the Mishnah; it is a further indication of Greek influence.

3. GREEK INFLUENCE IN THE SPHERE OF RELIGION

A few words must be said about this, for, as will be seen later, it greatly affected the history of the Jews during the second century B.C. It is probable that, indirectly, the shows and processions associated with the annual Greek religious festivals affected many Jews in an adverse manner; just as many of their forefathers in exile had been attracted by Babylonian religious displays, so, there is reason to believe, the spectacular element of Greek ritual also made its appeal, thereby loosening the ties which bound the Jewish youth to their traditional faith.

But while individual Jews, and doubtless many of them, were drawn away from the faith of their fathers, it is certain that so far as the *fundamental tenets* of Judaism itself were concerned Greek thought was unable to modify them. On the other hand, there were various beliefs which in course of time had been assimilated, and these were no doubt due to extraneous influences, of which Greek was one. Wellhausen remarks that 'in no period was Judaism so fruitful as in this. It was, like Islam, of complex appearance, full of antinomies, receptive like all that is living, unsystematic, only to be understood in its historical

¹ Emmet, *The Third and Fourth Books of Maccabees*, p. xiv (1918).

² For an admirable account of the entire body of Jewish-Hellenistic literature, see Otto Stählin, *Die hellenistisch-jüdische Litteratur* (1921); Edwyn Bevan, in a private communication, emphasizes this fact.

setting. It was only practical religion which was ruled by a pedantic spirit and by strict discipline; in the domain of belief and religious conception a curious freedom was permitted, although certain fundamental doctrines were rigorously shielded.¹

The difficulty of estimating to what extent Jewish *religious* thought and practice were affected by outside influence is very considerable; not less difficult is it to determine *what* extraneous influence had affected a particular belief or custom. Hellenism was strongly syncretistic, and had assimilated much from eastern religious thought, and therefore it is sometimes quite uncertain to what source Judaism was indebted in respect of some given belief; it may have been directly from an eastern source, or it may have been through the intermediary of Greek thought which had previously assimilated it; and it would thus have been transformed accordingly, before Judaism absorbed it. The educated classes among the Jews, not less than among the Gentiles, can hardly have failed to have been affected by the spiritual atmosphere created by Hellenism, thus permeated by thoughts and speculations from a variety of sources.² What would obviously appeal to such was just the *philosophic-religious type of belief* developed by the Greek genius. The elements which went to make up this faith were drawn from various sources, as already hinted; as Bousset points out, the philosophy of Plato and his pupils, the middle and later Stoa, Neo-pythagoreanism, and an element of orphic mystery-cult, all contributed their *quota*; their monotheistic tendency, he continues to show, their 'anthropological dualism' between soul and body, their striving

¹ *Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte*, pp. 297 f. (1907).

² An example of direct Greek influence may perhaps be discerned in Zech. xiv. 6, where a Greek idea concerning the abode of the blessed in the Hereafter is adapted by the Jewish apocalypticist and applied to the 'Day of the Lord'. Thus, the Greeks taught that this was a place which was 'not oppressed by rain, or snow, or heat' (see Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* ii. 155); in Zech. xiv. 6 it is said: 'And it shall come to pass in that day that there will be neither heat nor cold nor frost' (as the Hebrew text stands the last three words are meaningless and should be emended to read: *הַיּוֹם וְקִרְיָת וְקִרְיָת*). The first word is Wellhausen's emendation for *וְיָרֵחַ*; the other two are the readings of the Sept. and the Syriac Version). This idea is unique and not found elsewhere in Jewish Apocalyptic in the Old Testament, hence the probability that Greek influence is to be discerned. That the Jews were influenced by Zoroastrian eschatology is certain (see *Hebrew Religion*, ch. xv, by the present writer), but the particular idea mentioned does not appear to have found expression in the many details concerning the place of happiness hereafter according to Zoroastrian accounts; see, e.g. von Gall, *Βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ*, pp. 83-118 (1926).

after spiritualization, their system—raised to an art—of transforming the ancient religious traditions and popular superstitions by means of allegory and symbolism, their eschatological elements, belief in retribution after death, and throughout a strongly pronounced ethical element—all this, as can readily be realized, permeated every form of religion in those days like leaven.¹ While, so far as the Jews are concerned, this applies primarily to the Dispersion, the Jews of Palestine were not wholly unaffected. The main tenets of Judaism, as already pointed out, were not affected; but in one respect, at least (and it was one which touched men very closely), we are justified in seeing a development due, at any rate indirectly, to Greek mental environment; belief in the resurrection of the body, however and whenever it arose, was a Jewish dogma for which the Jews were certainly not indebted to Greek thought; but belief in the immortality of the spirit was Greek. That this latter, however, appealed very strongly to many Jewish thinkers may be seen from such passages, for example, as the following: 'And their bones will rest in the earth, and their spirits will have much joy' (*Book of Jubilees* xxiii. 31); 'And the spirits of you who have died in righteousness shall live and rejoice, and their spirits shall not perish'. . . (*Book of Enoch* ciii. 4) see further the *Book of Wisdom* i. 15, ii. 23, iii. 1-4, iv. 7, v. 15, where there is no doctrine of the resurrection of the body, but only of the immortality of the spirit; once more, in the *Fourth Book of Maccabees*, there are various passages of similar teaching, e.g. 'But the sons of Abraham, together with their mother who won the crown, are gathered to the company of their fathers receiving pure and immortal souls from God,' cp. ix. 22, x. 15, xiv. 5, xv. 3.

Belief in the resurrection of the body, on the one hand, and in the immortality of the spirit, apart from the body, on the other, is not easy to reconcile; but a compromise was effected by postulating the existence of an intermediate state in which the body underwent a process of purification. That inconsistencies of teaching arose, such as are to be found in the apocalyptic literature, was inevitable; with these, however, we are not concerned; the point here to be emphasized is that Greek influences played their part in the formulation of the Jewish doctrine of Immortality.

¹ *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter*, p. 483 (1926).

It will, therefore, be seen that socially and politically it is impossible to exaggerate the influence of Hellenism upon the Jews; in the domain of religious thought it was primarily the Jews of the Dispersion who were affected, though the Palestinian Jews were not wholly exempt from this; the tenets of orthodox Judaism, it is true, remained untouched; but in some respects, and in one of outstanding importance, Jewish belief was profoundly affected.

Chapter XIV

FROM THE BATTLE OF ISSUS (333 B.C.) TO THE ACCESSION OF ANTIOCHUS III (223 B.C.)

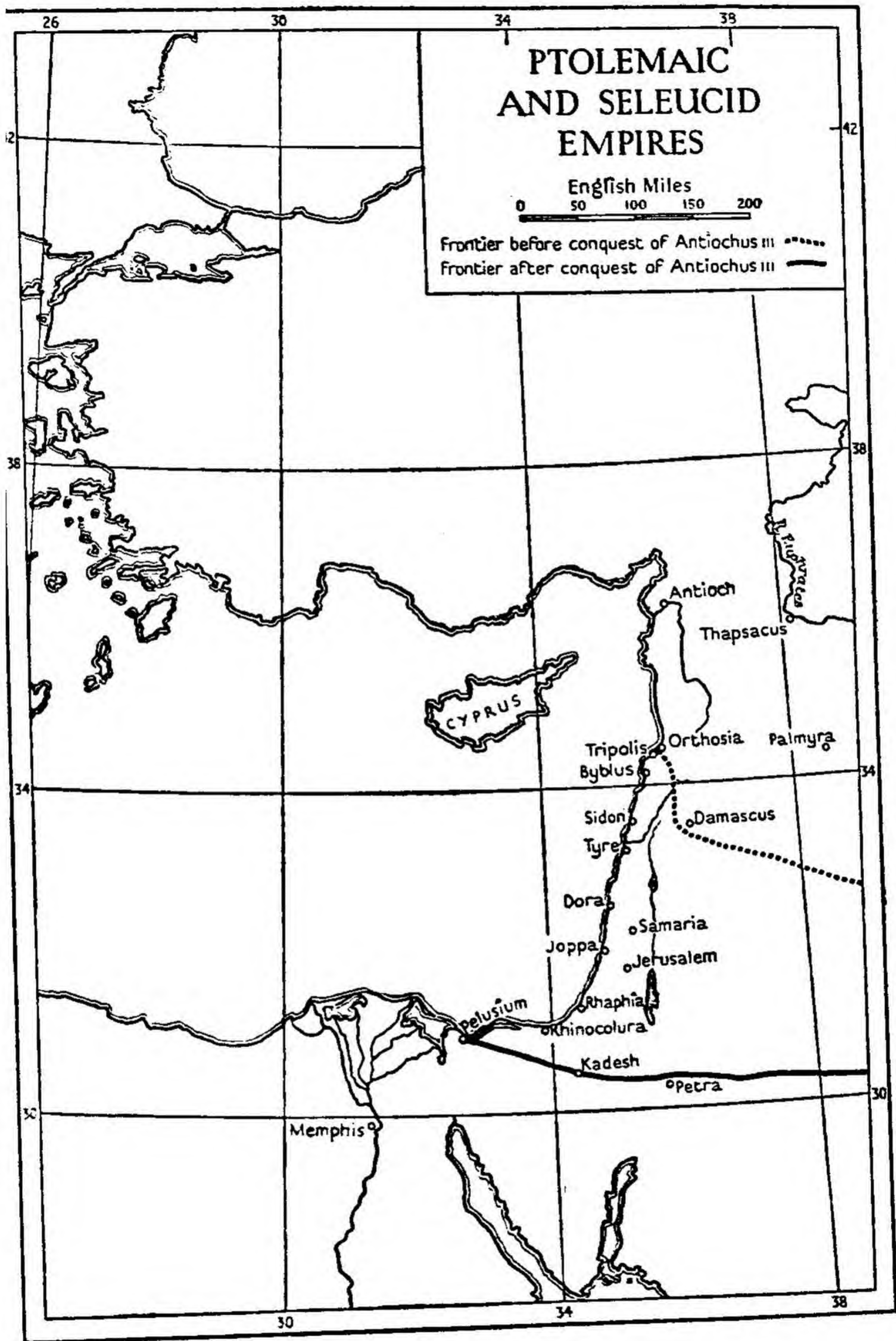
SUMMARY

[Some knowledge of the external history of the Greek period in so far as the Jews were concerned is necessary for the understanding of their special history.

The battle of Issus (333 B.C.) finally sealed the fate of the Persian empire. Syria and Egypt were soon conquered by Alexander. There is no reason to believe that the relations between Alexander and the Jews were otherwise than friendly. Alexander died in 323 B.C., and much confusion reigned in the vast empire he had created. By the year 315 B.C. four of his generals had gained a position of supremacy. Among these was Antigonus, who aspired to become the successor of Alexander, with the result that the other three opposed him. Of chief interest for us is Ptolemy Lagi, one of these three, and his foremost general Seleucus. They gained an epoch-making victory over Antigonus at Gaza. But the genius of Seleucus soon enabled him to shake off the position of a subordinate; and while Ptolemy returned to Egypt, which he had seized after the death of Alexander, Seleucus formed a dynasty for himself by the conquest of Babylonia (312 B.C.). The next landmark was the battle of Ipsus (301 B.C.), when Antigonus was defeated by Seleucus and his allies, though Ptolemy did not take part. This meant the end of the Asiatic empire of Antigonus. Coele-Syria, the important land between the empires of Seleucus and Ptolemy, the latter managed to retain for himself; it was thus incorporated in the Ptolemæic empire. Seleucus did not acquiesce in this; but made no attempt to wrest it from Ptolemy. For eighty years it remained in possession of the Ptolemys, though the Seleucids made various attempts to capture it; indeed, apart from this cause, serious wars between Egypt and Syria occurred on several occasions during the first half of the third century B.C.

Peace was concluded in 240 B.C. between the two empires. With the advent of Antiochus III to the Syrian throne a new era in the history of the Near East began.

Our knowledge of the history of the Jews under Ptolemæic rule is scanty; some references occur in the historical retrospect given in the book of *Daniel*, and a few other details are to be gathered elsewhere. Upon the whole, it was a period of quietude for the Jews; this is borne out by the fact that, according to the, doubtless correct, opinion of most scholars, the period was one of considerable literary activity.]



I. THE EXTERNAL HISTORY

THERE can be little doubt that the Persian empire would have fallen before the ever-growing power of Greece sooner than was actually the case had it not been for the want of unity among the Greek states themselves. It is a remarkable thing that this unity should have been brought about by the king of the Macedonians, i.e. of a people who were not strictly Hellenes; but it was the genius of Philip which formed the Hellenic League of all the Greek states (Sparta alone excepted) which was to be the instrument whereby the Persian empire was to be brought to an end. But Philip was not destined to see the fulfilment of his plans; by his murder in 336 B.C. it was left to his son Alexander to wield the instrument.

With the details of Alexander's victorious career we are here concerned only in so far as they affected the history of the Jews.

After the total defeat of the Persians under Darius III Codomannus, at the battle of Issus¹ (333 B.C.), Alexander turned southwards. He first encountered the opposition of the Tyrians, and it was seven months before Tyre fell (332 B.C.); Gaza was the next objective, and here, too, there was a stubborn defence, the city holding out for two months; then Alexander hurried on to Pelusium, and was soon master of Egypt. There are no sufficient grounds for believing that Alexander spent any time in Palestine, or that he came into immediate contact with the Jews. Josephus' somewhat fantastic story about Alexander coming to Jerusalem and offering sacrifice in the Temple 'according to the High-priest's direction', cannot be regarded as historical;² it may, however, reflect the fact of Alexander's tolerant attitude towards the Jews; Jewish traditions regarding him, while entirely unhistorical, do not present him in an unfavourable light. On the other hand, that he settled a number of Jews in Alexandria is doubtless true,³ though there were probably Jews living already in the Egyptian *Diaspora*. Further, Hecataeus of Abdera says that 'Alexander honoured our nation to such a degree that, for the equity and fidelity which the Jews had exhibited to him, he permitted them to hold the country of Samaria free from tribute'.⁴ He also

¹ Situated near the coast, with the river Pyramus to the north and west and the Orontes to the south.

² *Antiq.* xi. 325 ff.

³ Cp. *Antiq.* xiv. 116-18.

⁴ Quoted by Josephus, *Contra Ap.* ii. 43.

mentions the fact that many Jews enlisted in Alexander's army,¹ and this seems highly probable. Otherwise we have no information about any relations between Alexander and the Jews. It should, however, be recognized that inasmuch as Alexander was the apostle of Hellenism and the instrument of its introduction into Syria, his indirect influence upon them was destined to be very great; for not only were the Jews deeply affected by Greek culture in a large variety of ways, but Jewish religion underwent some modification in certain directions through contact with Hellenism, as we have seen.

On the death of Alexander in 323 B.C. his immense empire was left without a guiding hand; he left no heir; there was not among his generals a single personality who could be even remotely compared with him; the natural result was widespread confusion. There were, of course, many able leaders among Alexander's generals; but it was just this fact which brought about confusion; for there was among them no particular one of sufficiently outstanding character and individuality to bend the rest to his will; many of them desired independent leadership, and they saw no reason why they should not attempt to gain it. Among those who played important parts in the subsequent history were Antipater and Antigonus, the two oldest; Perdiccas, who had been one of the generals under Philip and the leading cavalry general under Alexander, and Craterus, Alexander's second in command; Ptolemy, related to the royal house; Seleucus, the leader of the Hypaspistae (heavy infantry); and finally, Eumenes and Lysimachus, both of whom were going to make their presence felt.

It would be out of place here to go into the details of the intrigues and conflicts of all these forceful men during the years which followed the death of Alexander; but to understand how it came about that the two dynasties, the Ptolemæic and the Seleucid arose—for it is with these that we shall be more especially concerned on account of their relations with the Jews—it is necessary to sketch very briefly the history in some of its main outlines from the year 315 B.C. In this year, after seven years of struggle, four outstanding leaders appear, who for one reason or another had gained ascendancy in different quarters, and who stood out pre-eminent; they were: Antigonus, the most prominent, who held all the country from the Mediter-

¹ Referred to by Josephus, *Contra Ap.* i. 192.

anean to Central Asia; Cassander, the son of Antipater, who ruled in Macedonia; Ptolemy Lagi, who possessed Egypt and southern Syria—and in connexion with him must be mentioned Seleucus, his foremost general—and Lysimachus in Thrace. Antigonus aspired, in effect, to become the successor of Alexander, with the natural result that he made enemies of the others. In order to check the ambitions of Antigonus, as well as for their mutual advantage, Ptolemy, Cassander, and Lysimachus formed an alliance against him; this happened in the year already mentioned, 315 B.C. Diodorus¹ makes Seleucus the moving spirit in prompting this alliance. Among the demands made by Ptolemy was one according to which he was to give up part of the territory which he had conquered in Asia, in particular that Seleucus should receive back Babylonia from which he had been driven out previously. Antigonus treated these demands with scorn, with the inevitable result that the allies sought to gain their ends by force. Although in a subordinate position Seleucus certainly appears, as Diodorus says, to have been the most forceful and energetic opponent of Antigonus.² Important at this time was the victory of Ptolemy and Seleucus at Gaza over the army of Antigonus which was led by his son Demetrius³ (312 B.C.). Ptolemy thereupon pressed forward into Syria and conquered all the important cities, including Zidon. It is at this time that we get the account of Ptolemy's presence in Jerusalem, given by Agatharchides;⁴ he says:

'There are a people called Jews, and they dwell in a city which is the strongest of all cities, and which the inhabitants call Jerusalem. And they are accustomed to rest on every seventh day; at these times they do not take up arms, nor do they follow agricultural pursuits, nor do they occupy themselves with the affairs of (daily) life; but they lift up their hands in their holy places, and pray until the evening. Now it came to pass that when Ptolemy the son of Lagi entered into this city with his army, that these people, in observing their foolish custom, instead of guarding their city, suffered their

¹ xix. 56.

² See Diodorus, xix. 58, 60, 62, 68.

³ Diodorus, xix. 80; Josephus, *Contra Ap.* i. 186; Schubert, *Die Quellen zur Geschichte der Diadochenzeit*, pp. 211 ff. (1914).

⁴ Quoted by Josephus, *Contra Ap.* i. 209, 210. The victory of Gaza is probably referred to on a Babylonian tablet published by Sidney Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts*, p. 137 (1924); in this case the episode recounted by Agatharchides would have taken place 312 B.C., not in 320–318 B.C., as Dr. Edwyn Bevan believes (*The Ptolemæic Dynasty*, p. 24).

country to submit to a cruel master; and their law was thus clearly proved to command a foolish practice.'

It is in reference to Ptolemy's presence in Palestine on this occasion that in the *Letter of Aristeas* ii. 12, 13 it is said that 'he, after over-running the whole of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia, assisted by good fortune and his own prowess, transplanted some and made prisoners of others, terrorizing and reducing the whole country to submission. It was on this occasion that he carried away more than a hundred thousand persons from the Jews' country into Egypt, of which number he armed about thirty thousand picked men and settled them in the fortresses in the country.' This seems a large number, but there is a considerable amount of evidence from inscriptions and *papyri* to show that many Jews were settled in various parts of Egypt throughout the Ptolemæic period.¹ Ptolemy's triumph was, however, short-lived; in the same year he was driven out of Syria by Antigonus, who held it in possession until his death. Seleucus, on the other hand, now comes to the fore more than ever; no longer is he the subordinate of Ptolemy, but an independent conqueror. The year 311 B.C. is reckoned as the first of the Seleucid dynasty,² which Seleucus founded by the conquest of Babylonia.³ The attempts made by Antigonus to overcome him were in vain; and the position of Antigonus was made the more difficult in that he had now four antagonists in place of three. By holding Syria, however, he had one great advantage over Seleucus and Ptolemy, for his possession of this country acted as a wedge between them, and he was able to keep an eye on each, and be prepared for any movement on their part. The struggles during the following years are not important from the present point of view; they did not take place on Asiatic soil, where the war between Antigonus and the allies languished. But in 302 B.C. things underwent a change; while Lysimachus caused Antigonus to turn his attention to Asia Minor, Seleucus was hurrying from the distant east. Early in the next year Seleucus joined his forces with those of Lysimachus and Cassander—Ptolemy preferred to play a waiting game; they were met by Antigonus at Ipsus, in Phrygia. The

¹ For reference, see Bevan, *The Ptolemæic Dynasty*, p. 112.

² Sidney Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 137; he gives the date as 312 B.C.; see further Additional Note A.

³ The account of this is given by Diodorus xix. 90, 91. On Seleucus' division of his kingdom into seventy-two satrapies see Hölscher, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-5.

allied armies gained an epoch-making victory; Antigonus died on the battle-field, and with his death his Asiatic empire came to an end;¹ his son Demetrius Poliorketes managed, however, to retain Macedonia and the Phoenician coast-land of Syria.

The failure of Ptolemy to appear at Ipsus and support his allies was destined to have serious consequences. It had been agreed among the allies that in the event of victory Coele-Syria² (Palestine) should be assigned to Ptolemy; but as he had not kept faith it was decided by the other three that this territory should be taken by Seleucus. In the meantime, however, Ptolemy had come into the land and taken possession of it. The condition of affairs is described by Diodorus:

‘When Seleucus, after the partition of the kingdom of Antigonus, arrived with his army in Phoenicia, and tried, according to the arrangements concluded, to take over Coele-Syria, he found Ptolemy already in possession of its cities. Ptolemy complained that Seleucus, in violation of their old friendship, should have agreed to an arrangement which put territory governed by Ptolemy into his own share. Although he, i.e. Ptolemy, had taken part in the war against Antigonus, the kings had not, he protested, assigned him any portion of the conquered territory. To these reproaches Seleucus replied that it was quite fair that those who had fought the battle should dispose of the territory. With regard to Coele-Syria, he would not for the present, for the sake of their friendship, take any action; later on he would consider the best way of treating friends who tried to grasp more than was their right’ (xxi. 5).

So far as Syria was concerned, then—and it is here that our main interest centres—the position of affairs after the battle of Ipsus was that Seleucus possessed the northern parts (it was now that he built Antioch and made it his capital), Demetrius Poliorketes retained the coastland of Phoenicia, while Ptolemy kept his hold on Syria south of Aradus. This, of course, could not continue; Ptolemy had got Coele-Syria, but without the seaports on the Phoenician coast he could not feel secure; Seleucus had no intention of resigning permanently what he believed to be his rights to Coele-Syria; and Demetrius was, naturally enough, resolved to retain Phoenicia. For the present nobody seemed inclined to fight, and war gave place to intrigue.

¹ Diodorus, xix, xx.

² On the name Coele-Syria and what is comprised by it see the important investigation of Hölscher, *op. cit.*, pp. 6–12; the name did not always embrace the same amount of territory.

Then events in other parts of the world absorbed the attention of all three, and the *status quo* in Syria continued.

Ultimately Ptolemy came out the winner; Demetrius, owing to preoccupations elsewhere, was unable to retain Phoenicia, and Ptolemy quietly took possession; as to Coele-Syria, Seleucus, while claiming it, made no attempt to conquer it, and Ptolemy remained the *de facto* ruler. For eighty years it continued in possession of the house of Ptolemy, though strenuous efforts were made by the Seleucids to make it their own. The intermittent wars which took place between the Ptolemys and the Seleucids during the third century B.C. for the possession of Coele-Syria must be briefly noticed, for although we have but the scantiest knowledge of Jewish history until towards the end of this century, some knowledge of the relations between the Ptolemys and the Seleucids forms an indispensable preliminary towards the understanding of the complicated questions which arise in connexion with the subsequent history of the Jews.

The possession of Coele-Syria, together with the Phoenician coastland, was desirable for four reasons; it formed a bulwark of the highest value to whichever of the two powers held it; for the Asiatic power it gave access to the sea, the importance of which is obvious, while to Egypt as a naval power, the sea-ports constituted a supreme need in view of naval operations on the coasts and islands of the Levant; further, one of the most important routes of the ancient world ran along the Mediterranean coast; the advantage of holding this needs no emphasis. And lastly, Syria itself, of which Coele-Syria and Phoenicia formed only parts, was, from its geographical position, the bridge between Asia and Egypt. This is well explained by Dr. Bevan: 'The land which we call Syria is created by the line of mountains which go from the Taurus on the north as far as the Gulf of 'Akaba in the Red Sea. These mountains prevent the Arabian desert, traversed by the Euphrates and Tigris, from extending quite to the eastern shore of the Mediterranean. From its position Syria has always been the bridge between Egypt and Asia. But it was not only traversed by a world-route going north and south, it was crossed east and west by the routes from Babylon and the Further East, which found on its coasts their nearest outlet to the Mediterranean, and in the Cilician Gates their natural door into Asia Minor. *It belongs to the Mediterranean lands and at the same time is of*

those lands the most closely connected with the great seats of Asiatic civilization'.¹

Ptolemy Lagi was succeeded by his son Ptolemy Philadelphos in 283 B.C.; Seleucus was murdered in 281 B.C., and his son Antiochus I succeeded him on the throne. With the activities of Antiochus I in Asia Minor after the death of his father we are not here concerned; the important fact to note is that by the year 276 B.C. we find three great powers firmly established in their respective lands: the house of Ptolemy in Egypt, the house of Seleucus in Asia, and the house of Antigonos in Macedonia. During the remainder of the third century B.C. these three powers play the leading part in the history of the eastern Mediterranean lands. 'If these powers', says Bevan, 'grouped themselves in two opposing camps it meant that two of them must gravitate together against the third. We accordingly find a close understanding during all this period between the Seleucid and the Antigonid houses against the Ptolemaic, with which one or other of them, if not both together, is continually at war.'²

What caused the rupture between Antiochus I and Ptolemy II, Philadelphos, is not known; but war broke out between them in 275 B.C., when Ptolemy invaded Syria; he was, however, repulsed. This encounter is mentioned on a Babylonian cuneiform inscription, published by Sidney Smith,³ on which it is said: 'In that year (the 36th of the Seleucid era = 275 B.C.) the king left his court, his wife, and the crown prince in Sapardu (Sardis) to keep a strong guard. He went to the province Ebir-nari and marched against the Egyptian army which was camped in Ebir-nari. The Egyptian army fled before him.' On the other hand, Theocritus refers to this war in a different strain; speaking of Ptolemy, he says: 'Aye, and he cuts off for himself portions of Phoenicia and Arabia, and Syria, and Lybia, and of the black Ethiopians. He gives commands to all the Pamphylians and the Cilician spearmen, and to the Lycians, and the war-loving Carians, and to the isles of the Cyclades, since his ships are the best that sail over the waves—yea, all the sea and the land and the sounding rivers have Ptolemy for their king.'⁴ Contradictory as these two accounts are, it is

¹ *The House of Seleucus*, i. 207 (1902).

² *Ibid.*, i. 145.

³ *Babylonian Historical Texts*, p. 156 (1924).

⁴ xvii. 86–92, quoted by Bevan, *The Ptolemaic Dynasty*, p. 62 (1927).

probable that each is telling the truth from a different point of view. The general reliability of Babylonian records makes it very certain that the Egyptian army had to retreat; on the other hand, Ptolemy's naval power would give him a marked superiority in the Aegean and along the coast of Asia Minor. In any case, the war dragged on, neither side gaining any overwhelming victory; and a cessation of hostilities occurred in 272 or 271 B.C.

For some years now there is nothing to record regarding the relationship between Syria and Egypt. But on the death of Antiochus I in 261 B.C. and the accession of his son, Antiochus II, to the Syrian throne, war broke out again between the two countries. This time it was the Syrian power that took the initiative; presumably Antiochus II wished to extend his Syrian territories. Very little is known about the details of this war; but it is certain that Coele-Syria and Phoenicia remained in the hands of Ptolemy II. Peace was concluded in 252 B.C., the royal houses becoming allied through marriage. Ptolemy's daughter, Berenice, was betrothed to Antiochus II. In 246 B.C. Antiochus died; his son, Seleucus II, succeeded him. Very soon after, in 245 B.C., Ptolemy II died; his son, Ptolemy III, Euergetes, had been appointed joint-ruler with his father in 247 B.C. And now again there is war between Syria and Egypt, and for a reason very different from that of the former wars, which had been for the acquisition of territory. This third war was undertaken by Ptolemy III in order to avenge the murder of Berenice and her infant son. This Berenice¹ was the daughter of Ptolemy II, Philadelphos, and had married Antiochus II; she and her infant son were murdered at the instance of Laodice² a former wife of Antiochus II. The purpose of these murders was that Laodice's son, and not the son of Berenice, might succeed to the Syrian throne; thus it was that her son, Seleucus II, became king. But the murders of the daughter and the grandson

¹ Not to be confused, therefore, with Berenice the daughter of Magas, viceroy of Cyrene and half-brother to Ptolemy II, who married Ptolemy III in 245 B.C.; cp. Polybius, xv. 25.

² She was the daughter of Antiochus I, but not of the same mother as Antiochus II, who was her half-brother as well as her husband. 'The marriage of the children of one father, if the mothers were different, but not of *uterine* brothers and sisters, was allowed by Attic law. The marriage of full brothers and sisters, which was of course incestuous to the Hellenic conscience (Athen. xiv. 621a) is not proved in the Seleucid family till 196 B.C., although the second Ptolemy had begun it in Egypt' (Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, i. 169).

of Ptolemy II constituted an outrage on the honour of the house of Ptolemy which could not be tolerated; hence this third war between Egypt and Syria, the 'Laodicean War'. The records of this war are again exceedingly scanty; but so much is quite clear that 'the expedition which Ptolemy III led into Asia was the greatest military triumph ever achieved by the house of Ptolemy'; he entirely subjugated northern Syria and penetrated far into the Asiatic dominions of the Syrian king. But in the midst of his victories Ptolemy was called back to Egypt, for what reason is not quite clear, but probably because of unrest of some kind at home. His absence was, of course, taken advantage of by Seleucus, who reconquered his territories as far as Damascus; but he was unable, for the present, to advance farther south. Ptolemy III had demonstrated his power, but it does not appear that he gained any further territory permanently. Seleucus II was, however, not content with having regained what had been lost in Syria; he attempted to gain land farther south; it was in vain; a battle took place in Palestine—it is not known where—Seleucus was defeated and had to retire to his own lands.

In 240 B.C. peace was concluded once more. For the remainder of his reign Ptolemy made no further attack on Syria, and the centre of interest shifts to Asia. Ptolemy died in 221 B.C., to be succeeded by Ptolemy IV Philopator, one of the worst of the Ptolemaic house to sit on the throne. Seleucus II had previously been succeeded in 226 B.C. by Seleucus III, who died, by poison according to Appian,¹ in 223 B.C. His successor was his younger brother Antiochus III, the Great.

With this monarch a new era in the history of the Near East began; therefore before considering the further course of events in the relations between the Seleucid and Ptolemaic dynasties, it will be well to take a glance backwards in order to see what can be gleaned regarding the history of the Jews under Ptolemaic rule.

2. THE JEWS UNDER PTOLEMAIC RULE

Records of the history of this period are again scanty. The one outstanding figure is that of the High-priest, Simeon the

¹ Appian, *Syriaca*, 66; Polybius (iv. 48) does not say anything about his having been poisoned, but that he was assassinated by a Gaul named Apaturius and a certain Nicanor.

Just; but whether this was Simeon I, who lived during the middle of the third century, or Simeon II, whose date is somewhere about 200 B.C., is uncertain. In Ecclus. l. 1-24 there is a wonderful panegyric of Simeon, the son of Jochanan, the priest, who was 'great among his brethren, and the glory of his people'; but here again one cannot say which of these two is referred to. Ben-Sira says that in his day the house was renovated and the Temple was fortified; it is possible that this was done after the damage caused in the city at Antiochus' entry in 198 B.C. (Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 131 ff.); if so, the Simeon must be the second of the name. In *Pirke Abôth* i. 2, a saying is ascribed to him: 'On three things the world stands, on the Torah, on the (Temple-) service, and on acts of love.'

So far as our knowledge goes the Jewish people under Ptolemaic rule were left in peace and permitted to live according to their own will.¹ Tribute had, of course, to be paid to the suzerain power; but apart from that the Jews seem to have enjoyed practical independence. The geographical position of Judaea, lying off the main route, no doubt contributed to this. Indirect evidence may be deduced from the silence of the book of *Daniel* as to any violence or tyranny having been exercised by the Ptolemys towards the Jews. In the historical résumé of the period under consideration given in this book a few data may be gleaned; although written a considerable time after the events recorded, the historical references here must be briefly mentioned.

The rise of Alexander, his widespread dominion, and the subsequent division of it into four kingdoms, is referred to in xi. 3, 4 (cp. viii. 5-8). The struggles among Alexander's generals which continued for more than twenty years after his death are passed over in silence (cp. Josephus, *Antiq.* xi. 346, 347); but the writer of *Daniel* does not make the mistake found in 1 Maccabees i. 6, where it is said that Alexander, before his death, divided his empire among his 'honourable servants'. The 'four' kingdoms (Dan. xi. 4) would refer to the settlement sometime after the battle of Ipsus, Macedonia and Greece being taken by Cassander, Egypt by Ptolemy, Asia Minor by Lysimachus, and the eastern parts of the empire, including northern Syria, by Seleucus.

'The king of the south,' mentioned in the next verse, is

¹ Cp. Josephus, *Contra Ap.* ii. 44-7.

Ptolemy Lagi, who had already taken the title of 'king' of Egypt in 306 B.C.; and the prince who will be stronger than he is Seleucus I, who was at first subordinate to Ptolemy, but afterwards became the more powerful. Then there is a gap in the history for a number of years. Verse 6 runs: 'And at the end of years they shall join themselves together; and the daughter of the king of the south shall come to the king of the north to make an agreement; but she shall not retain the strength of her arm, neither shall his seed stand;¹ but she shall be given up, and they that brought her and her son;² and he that strengthened her in those times.' The reference here is to the alliance concluded between the Seleucid and Ptolemaic houses at the peace of 252 B.C., when Antiochus II married Berenice, the daughter of Ptolemy II, on condition that Antiochus would put aside his first wife, Laodice; but, as already pointed out, both Berenice and her son were murdered at the instigation of Laodice. The words 'he that strengthened her in those times' refer to Antiochus II, who died shortly after, suddenly, poisoned, as it was said, by Laodice. Verses 7-9 continue the immediate history. Ptolemy III began the war of revenge for the murder of his half-sister Berenice in 245 B.C., or even before, and was entirely victorious. In verse 8 it is said that he carried back to Egypt 'their gods, with their molten images, and their goodly vessels of silver and of gold'; in his commentary on Daniel, St. Jerome, quoting Porphyry, says that Ptolemy III, Euergetes, plundered the kingdom of Seleucus, and 'carried away 40,000 talents of silver, and precious cups, and images of the gods, 2,500, among which were those also which Cambyses, when he took Egypt, had brought to the country of the Persians. . . .'³ On Ptolemy's return there was peace again between the two houses, 'and he shall refrain some years from the king of the north.' In verse 9, 'And he shall come into the realm of the king of the south, but he shall return into his own land', the reference is to the attempt of Seleucus II to invade Egypt; he was badly defeated before he reached that country, and had to retire with his shattered army to his own dominions. With verse 10 the reign of Antiochus III is taken up; to this we shall return later.

¹ So the Vulgate.

² The history shows that 'he that begat her' represents a corruption of the text.

³ Quoted by Bevan, *The Ptolemaic Dynasty*, p. 194.

The very brief survey in *Daniel* does not, it is true, throw much light on the history of the Jews during this period; but, as already pointed out, had they suffered hardship under the Ptolemys something would have been said about it; the silence regarding anything of the kind may, therefore, be taken to denote that under Ptolemaic rule the Jews had nothing to complain of. One also gains the impression in reading these verses that the writer's sympathies were with the Ptolemaic rulers.

From isolated notices elsewhere we are able to gather a few facts of interest about the Jews. What Agatharcides says about them (see above, p. 191)¹ shows their rigid observance of the Sabbath at this time (312 B.C.), as we should expect. While the danger of arguing from silence is realized, it is worth noting that Agatharcides, who clearly knew something about the Jews, gives no hint that Greek influences had as yet affected them; against this, however, must be set the words of Hecataeus of Abdera, quoted above (p. 189).

The High-priest at this time was Onias I;² nothing is known about him; but as head of the great 'house of Onias', between which and the 'house of Tobias' a bitter conflict was soon to take place, his name is worth mentioning. It is also interesting to note that the name of the rival house occurs a little later—possibly even during the lifetime of Onias—on a *papyrus* belonging to the time of Ptolemy II.³ This tells of a Jew named Tubias, who was a cavalry commander in the Ptolemaic army stationed in Ammanitis, on the east of Jordan; in the later history, as we shall see, the house of Tobias had close relations with the Egyptian court; it is, therefore, highly probable that the Tubias mentioned on the papyrus as occupying an important position under Ptolemy II was a member of this house. Very likely an ancestor of this Tubias was 'Tobiah the Ammonite' mentioned in Neh. iv. 3 (iii. 35 in Hebr.). So far as it goes, this notice again emphasizes favourable relations between the Jews and the suzerain power.

But the most important indication of the condition of the Jews under the Ptolemys lies in the fact that it was a period of considerable literary activity; for this quietude would be

¹ Cp. also Plutarch, *De Superstitione*, viii, quoted by Reinach, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

² *Antiq.* xi. 347.

³ *Zenon Papyri*, No. 13, publ. by C. C. Edgar, in *Annales Serv.*, vol. xviii (1919)

required. Differences of opinion inevitably exist when it is a question of deciding as to what parts of the Old Testament may be assigned to this period; but considerable support is forthcoming for the contention that the following portions belong to it; to discuss the reasons in each individual case would be out of place here; for these recourse must be had to commentaries and the like.

The final redaction of *Ezra-Nehemiah*; the composition of 1, 2 *Chronicles*; *Prov.* i–ix, whilst the whole book was brought into its present form; it is also probable that the second and third books of the *Psalms* (xliii–lxxxix) were gathered into one book during this period; some of these were certainly earlier, others may have been composed at this time. There are grounds for believing that the book of *Jonah* was written early in the Greek period, while *Ecclesiastes* and the *Canticles* may be assigned to the latest part of the third century. It was also during the middle of this century, approximately, that the Pentateuch was translated into Greek, this being the first step in the formation of what became the Septuagint Version of the Old Testament Scriptures.

Chapter XV

ANTIOCHUS III AND THE CONQUEST OF SYRIA

SUMMARY

[In the summer of 221 B.C. Antiochus III made an attempt to invade Coele-Syria; it failed on account of the well-defended fortresses of the Lebanon, which were under the care of Theodotus, the commander-in-chief of the Egyptian army in Syria. Troubles in other parts of his empire compelled Antiochus to withdraw his army. In 219 B.C. he made another attempt; this began by being successful; but a four months' truce gave an opportunity for the Egyptian army to be reorganized. Nevertheless, during the year 218 B.C. Antiochus continued a successful career southwards, and it was not until the next year that the results of the careful reorganization of the Egyptian army bore fruit; for in June 217 the army under Antiochus was severely defeated at the battle of Raphia by the Egyptians, under the command of Ptolemy IV, Philopator; Antiochus was driven out of Syria, and for a number of years he made no further attempt to conquer the land. It is probable that some passages in Zech. ix-xiv contain references to this period of history, as is clearly the case in the book of *Daniel*.

In 203 B.C. Ptolemy IV died, and the serious troubles in Egypt which arose during the minority of his son offered Antiochus another chance of conquering Syria. The task was not an easy one; but at the battle of Panium (198 B.C.) he gained an overwhelming victory, and Syria passed finally into the possession of the Seleucid dynasty.

Antiochus' treatment of the Jews was favourable; but the internal affairs of the Jewish people, owing to the rivalry of the two ruling houses of Onias and Tobias, were destined to be difficult.]

I. FROM THE ACCESSION OF ANTIOCHUS III TO THE BATTLE OF RAPHIA, 217 B.C.

ALTHOUGH only eighteen years of age¹ when, in 223 B.C., Antiochus III² came to the throne, he had already had some experience as a ruler, since he had governed Babylonia under his brother, Seleucus III. Trouble arose soon after his succession, for Molon, to whom he had entrusted the eastern part of his empire, revolted.³ This rebellion, being soon crushed, did not, however, prevent Antiochus from pursuing the traditional Seleucid policy with regard to Syria. He made his first attempt to invade Coele-Syria in the summer of 221 B.C. The

¹ Polybius, v. 34.

² Surnamed 'The Great' (Polybius, iv. 2).

³ Polybius, v. 40 ff.

attempt failed, for on reaching the Marsyas valley between the Lebanon and anti-Libanus, he was unable to proceed, being held up by the Lebanon fortresses. These fortresses had been kept in good repair by Theodotus, the commander-in-chief of the Egyptian forces in Syria. Antiochus therefore withdrew, abandoning for the present the invasion of Syria, and turned his attention to Molon. It was not long, as we have said, before this trouble was satisfactorily settled, and towards the end of 220 B.C. Antiochus returned to his original purpose of invading Syria. The time was propitious, for the contemptible Ptolemy IV, Philopator,¹ had ascended the Egyptian throne, and Antiochus believed his opportunity had come.² In the spring of 219 B.C. the important city on the coast, Seleucia in Pieria, which had been in the possession of Egypt since the time of Ptolemy II, Euergetes,³ was captured. Then the invasion proper began, and this time, at any rate at first, Antiochus was more successful. What was especially helpful to him was that Theodotus, who, because of intrigues at the Egyptian court, had good reasons for withdrawing his allegiance from Ptolemy Philopator,⁴ threw in his lot with the Syrian king and delivered up to him Ptolemais (Acre) and Tyre.⁵ For a brief moment Antiochus was delayed by Nicolaus, another Egyptian general, in the fortress of Dora, a little south of Mount Carmel; leaving a small force to mask this fortress, Antiochus was on the point of continuing his advance southward when the rumour reached him that a strong Egyptian army was awaiting him at Pelusium. It would have been well for him had he ignored the rumour, which was false; but he unwisely consented to a truce, and withdrew to Seleucia,⁶ leaving Theodotus in charge of the conquered territory. This gave time to Sosibius, the Egyptian commander-in-chief, to reorganize his army.

Early in 218 B.C. the struggle recommenced. The Ptolemaic army under Nicolaus was stationed at Gaza; he advanced to the Lebanon to meet the Syrians. At first he had the advantage on account of the strong position his forces occupied on the slopes of Libanus; but then, as the historian records, 'when Theodotus had forced back the enemy at the foot of the mountain and then

¹ It is worth noting what Polybius says about him in v. 34: *ὁ δὲ προειρημένος βασιλεὺς ὀλιγώρως ἕκαστα τούτων χειρίζων διὰ τοὺς ἀπρεπεῖς ἔρωτας καὶ τὰς ἀλόγους καὶ συνεχεῖς μέθας. . . .*

² Polybius, v. 1, 34, 35.

⁴ Ibid., v. 40.

⁵ Ibid., iv. 37 and 61.

³ Ibid., v. 58 (end).

⁶ Ibid., v. 29.

charged from the higher ground, all those who were with Nicolaus turned and fled precipitately. About two thousand of them fell during the flight, and a not less number were captured; all the rest retreated on Zidon.¹

Antiochus, who in the meantime had issued forth from his winter quarters in Seleucia in Pieria, now followed Nicolaus with his retreating army down the Phoenician coast; he left him in Zidon without attacking him, and continued southwards. Tyre was left under the care of Diognetus the admiral of the Syrian fleet. On reaching Ptolemaïs Antiochus turned inland and came to Philoteria (probably Tiberias) on the Lake of Galilee; the object of this was, no doubt, to establish a fortified line across the country; then he crossed the Jordan, conquering the land to the east of the river; turning southwards he captured Gadara and various other strong cities, above all, Philadelphia (Rabbath-Ammon), an almost impregnable fortress. He returned to Ptolemaïs to winter by the same route, leaving a force to occupy Philadelphia on the east and Samaria on the west of Jordan.

In the spring of 217 B.C.² Antiochus continued his task; Philistia was conquered; Gaza is specially mentioned,³ then he advanced farther south to the frontier town of Raphia. While Antiochus had thus by degrees been subduing the cities of Phoenicia and Palestine, feverish military preparations had been undertaken by Sosibius, the Egyptian commander-in-chief, and his generals. The reconstituted Egyptian army, under the command of Ptolemy Philopator himself, met the Syrians a little south of Raphia;⁴ at the battle which followed, the Syrian forces suffered a disastrous defeat, with the result that the whole of southern Syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine was again in the possession of the Ptolemys.

'This, therefore, was the result', says Polybius, 'of the battle which took place at Raphia between the kings for (the possession of) Coele-Syria. After the burial of the dead, Antiochus returned to his country with his forces, and Ptolemy took Raphia and the other cities without resistance. . . .' He tells us further that after his victory Ptolemy 'remained three months in Syria and Phoenicia setting things in order in the cities';⁵ he was

¹ Polybius, v. 69.

² Ibid., v. 79.

³ Ibid., v. 86; cp. xvi. 18.

⁴ At the extreme south of Palestine close to the coast, 'the first Syrian city' from the point of view of Egypt (Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* iv. 662).

⁵ Polybius, v. 86, 87.

accompanied by his sister Arsinoe, whom he afterwards married; he then returned to Egypt and continued his accustomed life of pleasure and self-indulgence.¹

According to 3 Macc. i. 6 ff., while Ptolemy was visiting the cities of Syria after his victory, 'the Jews sent to him some (members) of the senate, and elders, to greet him, and to bring him gifts, and to congratulate him on what had happened.' It is said that he came to Jerusalem, which is likely enough; but the long account of his attempt to enter the Holy of Holies (3 Macc. i. 9-11, 24) cannot be regarded as historical in view of the entire silence about it in Dan. xi (see below).

At this point we may pause for a moment to say a word or two about the Jews. With the victorious advance of Antiochus during 218 B.C. and the early part of 217 B.C. it must have seemed a foregone conclusion to the people of Palestine that their land was about to come under Syrian rule. Two fragments in the book of Zechariah (ix. 1-8; xi. 1-3²) reflect the point of view of a religiously minded Jew on the occurrences mentioned; so it is believed by the present writer; the passages merit a little detailed consideration both because they appear to have been written by an eyewitness, and also because the longer of the two gives us some insight into the best religious trend of thought among the Jews during this period. We shall examine them below³ when it will be seen that there are good grounds for the contention that they refer to the first Syrian invasion of Antiochus III during 218 B.C. and 217 B.C.; and since the writer gives no hint of the defeat of Antiochus in the summer of the latter year, he may well have been an eyewitness of much that was going on, i.e. he must have written his words before the battle of Raphia. Some years later than this another Old Testament writer refers to this invasion, as well as to the defeat of Antiochus; his words are worth quoting:⁴ 'And his son⁵ shall war, and shall assemble a great multitude of forces, and shall come on, and overflow, and pass through; and he shall continue the war even to his fortress.' This is all in reference to Antiochus' first Syrian invasion;⁶ the 'fortress' here mentioned is, no doubt,

¹ Polybius, in his 14th book (only fragments of which are extant).

² According to the present writer's view xi. 1-3 is a fragment without connexion with what precedes or follows, and refers, like ix. 1-8, to Antiochus' first Syrian campaign.

³ Additional Note D.

⁴ Dan. xi. 10-12.

⁵ Following the Septuagint.

⁶ Not reckoning, of course, the abortive attempt in 221.

Gaza; it is called 'his fortress' because he captured it together with other Philistine fortified cities; but Gaza was the most strongly fortified and held out the longest. The text continues: 'And the king of the south shall be moved with choler, and shall come forth and fight with him, even with the king of the north; and he shall set forth a great multitude; but the multitude shall be given into his hand. And the multitude shall be carried away; and his heart shall be lifted up; and he shall cast down tens of thousands, but he shall not prevail.' Here we have a reference to the battle of Raphia when Ptolemy IV, Philopator, came out from Egypt to oppose Antiochus; they are, respectively, 'the king of the south' and the 'king of the north'; it is Antiochus who 'shall set forth a great multitude', while 'the multitude shall be given into his hand' means the hand of Ptolemy, who gained the victory; and 'the multitude shall be carried away' refers, on the one hand, to the Syrians who were taken captive, on the other, to the retreating army which fled in confusion after its defeat. It was Ptolemy's heart that was 'lifted up' in consequence of his victory because he 'cast down tens of thousands'; and the final words, 'but he shall not prevail', are in reference to the fact that ultimately Syria was wrested from the house of Ptolemy.¹

2. THE CONQUEST OF COELE-SYRIA BY ANTIOCHUS III

The vast extent of the empire of Antiochus necessitated his presence in both east and west, and for a number of years all thought of conquering Coele-Syria had to be relinquished. With the details of his activities in Asia Minor² and in many parts of his far-stretching empire to the east,³ where revolts had occurred, we are not here concerned. Of Jewish history during the years immediately following the battle of Raphia we have no knowledge other than the very scanty notice given above of Ptolemy's visit to Jerusalem.

But though prevented for a number of years by calls elsewhere from any further attempt at invading Coele-Syria, Antiochus had no intention of giving up the traditional aim of the Seleucids. After subduing the recalcitrant subject-states he at last

¹ The conflict between the Seleucids and the Ptolemys under the picture of 'ravens' and 'vultures', respectively, is briefly referred to in 1 Enoch xc. 2-5.

² Polybius, v. 107, vii. 18 (end).

³ Ibid., viii. 23, and especially x. 27-31, 49; xi. 39.

returned, in the year 205/204 B.C., in great triumph to Seleucia, having succeeded in all his eastern undertakings.¹ He now turned his attention to Egypt. For a year or so Antiochus had to walk warily on account of the intrigues of Philip V of Macedon and Sosibius, the energetic Egyptian commander-in-chief. But on the death of Ptolemy IV, Philopator, in 203 B.C.,² his four-year-old son Ptolemy V, Epiphanes, came to the throne of Egypt, and the state of affairs which then arose—rival factions at court and rebellions among the native populations—offered Antiochus an opportunity for invading Syria which he was not slow to seize.

In the spring of 202 B.C. he began operations; but no details are forthcoming of what happened, and it is quite clear that he achieved little or nothing, for in the spring of the next year the attempt was renewed. But again we have only the scantiest knowledge of the details of the campaign; nevertheless, it must have been attended with much success for Antiochus, since Polybius in praising the people of Gaza says, incidentally, that they held out to the last extremity in their desire to be faithful to Ptolemy.³ This resistance was of great assistance to Scopas, who was now the Egyptian general,⁴ as it gave him time to gather forces, and he was able to drive the Syrians back as far as the sources of the Jordan; this was in the winter of 201/200 B.C. Then followed, however, the battle of Panion, when Antiochus gained an overwhelming victory over Scopas;⁵ the latter fled with the remnant of his army to Zidon, where he was besieged by land and sea by Antiochus. The siege lasted until the spring of 199 B.C. when, the garrison being starved out, Scopas surrendered, and he and his troops were permitted to withdraw. The whole of Syria was thus at last incorporated in the empire of the Seleucids. In passing through his newly conquered territories,⁶ Antiochus entered Jerusalem, where, according to Josephus, he had a cordial welcome, the inhabitants receiving him with open

¹ Polybius, xii. 9.

² The actual year of his death is uncertain; it may have been in 204 B.C.

³ xvi. 22. Cp. Dan. xi. 15, 16.

⁴ Sosibius had died early in 203 B.C.

⁵ Polybius, xvi. 18. It was about this time that, owing to a revolt in Lydia and Phrygia, Antiochus ordered his general, Zeuxis, to transport a number of Jewish families from Mesopotamia and Babylon to the disaffected areas, giving directions that they should receive every consideration. Josephus mentions the incident in order to illustrate the fidelity of the Jews (*Antiq.* xii. 147–53).

⁶ Josephus, quoting a passage from Polybius, which has not otherwise been preserved, says that Antiochus had conquered Batanea and occupied Samaria, Abila, and Gadara (*Antiq.* xii. 136).

arms and offering him ample provision for his army.¹ This statement is regarded with suspicion by Willrich;² and it is true that the consideration which the Ptolemys had shown for Jewish religious susceptibilities had resulted in a friendly disposition towards them on the part of the Jews, so that the welcome which Josephus says was given to Antiochus does sound a little strange. On the other hand, there is significance in Polybius' words, quoted above, when he says that the people of Gaza were superior to the other people of Coele-Syria where 'keeping of faith' was concerned; it would be justifiable to deduce from this that the Jews, in contrast to the people of Gaza, were not averse from transferring their allegiance from Ptolemy to Antiochus. Dr. Bevan thinks that the Josephus account of the reception of Antiochus 'shows at least that no unpleasant memories were connected in the mind of the Jewish people with their first coming under Seleucid rule'.³ There is, however, another possibility which may tend to support Josephus in this matter. If, as Schlatter suggests,⁴ the house of Tobias rose to supreme power in the Jewish State during these campaigns of Antiochus, they, as the Hellenizing party, would welcome him; so that when Josephus says that 'the Jews of their own accord went over to him', it may well be true so far as the dominant party were concerned, while the orthodox house of Onias held aloof.⁵

3. THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE JEWS

This leads us to consider the internal affairs of the Jews, of which we now begin to get more and more information.

Josephus quotes in full three documents of Antiochus;⁶ in the first he grants payments to the Jews for the provision of their sacrifices; he also ordains that for repairs to the Temple they are to have wood from the Lebanon free of tax. Further, it is said: 'And let all of that nation live according to the laws of their own country; and let the senate and the priests, and the scribes of the Temple, and the sacred singers, be discharged from the poll-money, and the crown-tax and other taxes also.' Other taxes

¹ *Antiq.* xii. 133.

² *Juden und Griechen vor der makkabäischen Erhebung*, pp. 40-2 (1895).

³ *Jerusalem under the High-priests*, p. 30 (1904).

⁴ *Geschichte Israels von Alexander dem Grossen bis Hadrian*, p. 410 (1925).

⁵ The fact that Joseph the Tobiad had been appointed tax-farmer by Ptolemy IV, and that Onias had fallen out with the Egyptian king, does not necessarily militate against this.

⁶ *Antiq.* xii. 138-53; cp. 3 Macc. iii. 1 ff.

are also remitted to the inhabitants of Jerusalem. In the other documents which Josephus quotes various other privileges are accorded to the Jews. It can hardly be denied that there are some things in these documents which it is difficult to take seriously. Willrich strongly questions their genuineness;¹ but Schürer believes they are to be relied upon and mentions an analogous case, so far as the Temple is concerned, of a pagan temple which received consideration at the hands of Antiochus.² It was certainly to Antiochus' advantage to favour the people in his newly conquered territory; he would, moreover, probably be aware of the favourable treatment accorded to the Jews by the Ptolemys—apart from the heavy taxes levied³—and it would have been impolitic not to continue this; therefore some credence must be allowed to what Josephus records here.

The first of these documents was sent to the governor of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia, named Ptolemy; in communicating the contents of the rescript to the Jews, he must have addressed himself to the High-priest, and this brings us to the important subject of the relations in general of the High-priest to the suzerain power.

Unfortunately, we have no reliable historical data to go upon until we come to the time of Antiochus III, though the echo of what obtained previously is to be discerned in the story told by Josephus concerning Joseph, of the house of Tobias, to be referred to presently. In this relationship between the High-priest and the suzerain power everything really turned upon the question of money; however tolerant the Ptolemys may have been there would have been no peace for the Jews if adequate taxes had not been paid. When it is asked who collected these taxes, no certain answer can be given, at any rate until we reach the end of the third century. The presumption is that during the Ptolemaic régime the High-priest did so; but this is by no means certain, as the Joseph story will show. Without going into those details given by Josephus⁴ which are obviously unhistorical, the salient points are as follows: The High-priesthood at the time when Ptolemy IV, Philopator (221–203 B.C.), was king of Egypt,

¹ *Juden und Griechen* . . ., pp. 40 ff., and in *Judaica*, pp. 48 ff. (1900); see also Büchler, *Die Tobiaden und Oniaden* . . ., pp. 143 ff. (1899).

² *Op. cit.*, iii. 107 f.

³ 'The most oppressive side of Ptolemaic rule, however, was the consistent and systematic adjustment of taxation to the interests of the central power' (*Camb. Anc. Hist.* vii. 129 [1928]).

⁴ *Antiq.* xii. 154 ff.; cp. 2 Macc. iii. 1 ff.

was held by Onias II, son of Simon I, 'the Just'. Onias is represented as very avaricious and refuses to pay the king the tax of twenty talents of silver, 'which his forefathers paid to these kings out of their own estates.' Thereupon Joseph manages to get himself appointed tax-farmer not only for Judaea, but for the whole of Palestine. From what Josephus says,¹ we may gather what the procedure had been in regard to tax-farming under the Ptolemaic régime; he says that 'all the principal men and rulers went up out of the cities of Syria and Phoenicia [to Alexandria] to bid for their taxes; for every year the king sold them to the men of the greatest power in every city'; the tax-farmers were thus men from the various local centres who had to go up to Alexandria annually to bid at the auction for a renewal of their licence to gather taxes, provided they could bid high enough. 'This', says Rostovtzeff, 'is proved by the various documents in the Zeno letters² which shows that the picture of an auction of provincial taxes drawn by Josephus in his wonderful story of the farmer of tribute from Coele-Syria³ is on the whole accurate'.⁴ Joseph was the tax-farmer for a large area, and would have appointed his own local subordinates. A matter of paramount importance, as it seems to us, is that Joseph was a member of the rival house of Tobias, but he was at the same time nephew to Onias, whose sister married into the house of Tobias.

The first point to note in Josephus' narrative is that the sum of twenty talents which Onias refused to pay cannot possibly represent taxes; the sum is much too small. Further, Onias did not in the end pay this; but it did not affect his position as High-priest. And thirdly, by being appointed tax-farmer, Joseph, the Tobiad, assumed a position of authority side by side with the High-priest who belonged to the Oniads. The two rival houses are thus represented in the two highest offices in the Jewish State. When it is said that the twenty talents had been paid 'out of their own estates' by previous High-priests to the kings of Egypt, we have probably a reliable indication of the fact that it had been customary for the High-priests to pay this sum for receiving royal recognition. Why Onias refused to pay is said to be because he was avaricious; this reason is not convincing. It seems more probable that Onias meant his refusal to be a definite renunciation of allegiance to Ptolemy. The initial

¹ *Antiq.* xii. 129-44.

² *Antiq.* xii. 169 ff.

³ P. Cairo Zen. 59037.

⁴ *Camb. Anc. Hist.* vii. 129f.

success of Antiochus in the 219–217 B.C. campaigns Onias believed to foreshadow a change of régime; he therefore desired to put himself right with his new suzerain. It was a miscalculation, as the battle of Raphia showed. Joseph, of the rival house, seized his opportunity, and ingratiated himself with the Egyptian king by promising large sums if appointed tax-farmer; and he held this post with great advantage to himself for at least twenty years.

The whole narrative, mostly imaginary, but with some undoubtedly reliable historical data, is mainly an echo of the rivalries between the houses of Onias and Tobias.

When, therefore, Palestine came finally into the possession of the Seleucids through Antiochus' conquest, the tax-farming was in the hands of the Tobiad family, and Joseph continued in his office, though now under Syrian overlordship. Onias was still High-priest, but his family now became pro-Egyptian.

The course of Jewish history during the remainder of the reign of Antiochus III¹ and of his son Seleucus IV is very involved and difficult to unravel; but one or two points seem clear. There was a section of the people whole-heartedly devoted to the Law and its observances, the *Chasidim*,² 'the godly ones', who at first took no part in the politics of the day.³ Of a very different character were the worldly Hellenizers, represented especially by the priestly aristocracy, though by no means confined to them. The relations between the latter and the Seleucid court were friendly; but the want of money on the part of the king was the cause of troubles among the Jewish aristocracy, and, above all, in the family of Tobias; bribery as a means to favour appealed to the Seleucid rulers, who were always in need of money.

It was during the reign of Seleucus IV that Heliodorus, his chief minister, in order to replenish to some extent the royal exchequer, attempted to seize the Temple treasure; he was, however, unable to take anything because, according to the narrative in 2 Macc. iii. 24–8, he was confronted by an apparition, 'a horse with a terrible rider upon him,' accompanied by

¹ He died in battle in the eastern part of his empire in the spring of 187 B.C.; on his deterioration of character in his later years, see Polybius, xv. 37.

² On the *Chasidim*, see further pp. 226 and Additional Note H, § 1, pp. 314 ff.

³ On the *Essenes*, between whom and the *Chasidim* there were some points of contact, see Additional Note S.

two other supernatural beings by whom he was scourged, and he had to be carried out by his guards. Putting the embellishments aside, there is here probably the echo of some attempt to appropriate the Temple treasure, which failed. According to 2 Macc. iii. 4 ff., it was owing to Simon¹ that Heliodorus attempted to lay hands on the Temple treasure; but in 2 Macc. iv. 1 Simon is said to have accused Onias of this. There was bitter enmity on the part of the three brothers, Simon, Lysimachus, and Menelaus, against their younger brother Hyrcanus; the High-priest Onias was friendly disposed towards this latter (2 Macc. iii. 11, 12), so that one can understand the reason of Simon's accusation.

What has been said is sufficient to show the involved and troublous state of internal affairs among the Jews at this time.

Seleucus IV was murdered by Heliodorus in 175 B.C.; it is in reference to this that it is said in Dan. xi. 20: 'But within few days he (i.e. Seleucus IV) will be destroyed, not openly,² nor in battle.' With the accession of his brother, Antiochus IV, Epiphanes, the 'contemptible person' of Dan. xi. 21, a new epoch in Jewish history was soon to begin.

Additional Note D.

ZECHARIAH ix. 1-8; xi. 1-3

It has been asserted above (p. 205) that these passages refer to an invasion of Syria, including Phoenicia and Palestine. As an examination of them in the text would somewhat break the course of the history, it will be best to do this in a special note; but this should be read in connexion with what is written above in order to see the force of the present contention.

That we have here a reference to an invasion of Syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine may be seen from the words of ix. 1:

'Oracle. The word of Yahweh regarding³ the land of Hadrach, and Damascus is its resting-place', and of xi. 1: 'Open thy doors,

¹ He was one of the sons of Joseph, mentioned above, and the 'guardian' (*prostates*) of the Temple; probably he was placed over the Treasury.

² Following Charles' emendation.

³ In Hebrew *ל* can be rightly translated 'regarding' or 'about', just as in the case of the verb *ל* followed by this preposition; see, e.g., Deut. vi. 7; xi. 19; Ps. cxix. 46; cxxii. 8.

O Lebanon.' Taken with the context these words would be meaningless if they did not refer to an invasion of Syria; the 'doors' of Lebanon is an obvious reference to the fortresses already mentioned (p. 203). That the first Syrian campaign of Antiochus was in the mind of the writer can hardly be doubted in view of the close parallel between the place-names mentioned by Polybius in his account and those occurring here; thus, in addition to Hadrach¹ and Damascus, we have in our passage Hamath; since Antiochus started out from Seleucia in Pieria he must have passed close to these; then (verse 2) Tyre and Zidon;² then places in Philistia: Ashkelon, Gaza, Ekron, and Ashdod,³ and the words occur: 'I will cut off the pride of the Philistines.' All these places were near the route Antiochus took in the second stage of the campaign. Then it will be remembered that Antiochus, after coming down the coast-land of Phoenicia as far as Ptolemaïs, turned inland and crossed the Jordan, capturing various strongholds to the south, after which he returned again to Ptolemaïs. To the truly religious section of the Jews it must have appeared as very significant that Jerusalem with its national sanctuary remained untouched. In the light of this we must read verse eight of our passage; the text is a little uncertain, but the general sense is clear enough: 'I will encamp as an outpost⁴ for my house because of him that passeth and him that returneth,' i.e. Yahweh will be like an outpost in shielding his house, the Temple, in Jerusalem from those who are passing to and fro, in reference to an army, as the military terms show; the writer is doubtless thinking of the Syrian army on its progress to and from Ptolemaïs. And the verse ends with the words: 'For now I am beholding it with mine eye', i.e. Yahweh is keeping a protective watch over it. The fact that Antiochus pushed right across the land, crossed the Jordan, advanced south, captured a number of strongholds, and then returned to his starting-point, without molesting Jerusalem, was, naturally enough, interpreted by the devout Jewish patriot as an act of divine intervention. And, once more, the advance of the victorious Syrians along the east of Jordan is graphically described in xi. 2, 3: 'Howl, ye oaks of Bashan, for the inaccessible

¹ A district mentioned on Assyrian inscriptions as bordering on Damascus and Hamath.

² 'Tyre and Zidon (too),—they were very wise [following the Septuagint]. Yea, Tyre built for herself a stronghold, and she heaped up silver like dust, and fine gold like clay in the streets. Behold, my Lord will dispossess her, and he will smite her rampart in the sea [the fortified island close to the mainland] and she shall be devoured with fire.'

³ 'Ashkelon shall see it and fear, and Gaza shall be in sore distress; Ekron too, for she shall be ashamed of her confidence [following the Sept.]; and the king shall perish from Gaza, and Ashkelon shall not be inhabited, and a mixed race shall dwell in Ashdod.'

⁴ Reading מַצָּבָה for מַצָּבָה.

forest¹ is brought down. Hark! the lament of the shepherds, for their pasturage² is destroyed; hark! the roaring of the young lions, for the pride of Jordan is spoiled.' The last phrase, borrowed from Jer. xii. 5, xlix. 19, l. 44, refers to the trampling down by the soldiers of the luxurious vegetation along the eastern bank of the Jordan.³

Some insight into the purely religious point of view is also offered in Zech. ix. 1-8. Following the earlier prophetic teaching, Yahweh is thought of as the God of history; the writer clearly recognizes in the Syrian power the instrument of Yahweh (verses 1, 4). He also looks forward to the conversion of the Philistines; this is notable, especially as in the 'bastard race' of which he speaks as dwelling in Ashdod (verse 6), Egyptians, Greeks, and possibly Syrians would be included. Such an attitude towards the Gentiles was not characteristic of orthodox Judaism at this time; propagandism had not yet begun among the leaders of orthodoxy. The missionary zeal reflected in verse 7 is remarkable; the prophet sees in the adversity of the Philistines an opportunity to wean them from their false religion and bring them within the covenant of Israel: 'And I will take away his⁴ blood from his mouth,⁵ and his abominations⁶ from between his teeth, and he shall be a remnant, even he, unto our God; and he shall be as one of the clans⁷ in Judah, and Ekron shall be as a Jebusite.'⁸ And, lastly, the writer, following again the teaching of earlier prophets, believes firmly in the inviolability of the Temple and therefore of Jerusalem (verse 8).

¹ Reading יַעַר הַבְּצֹר; for the article used with the attribute alone see Cowley, § 126w.

² Reading מַרְעִיתָם for אֲדָרָתָם ('their glory').

³ The land lying north of the river Jabbok has many streams and is very fertile.

⁴ The singular is used collectively of the Philistine people.

⁵ The reference is to animals eaten at sacrificial meals without the blood having been poured out first (cp. the 'things strangled' spoken of in Acts xv. 20).

⁶ i.e. unclean animals sacred to a god or goddess, and only eaten on special occasions; the word used (זֵבֶךְ) is only applied to unclean animals and heathen deities.

⁷ Reading כְּאֶחָד as in xii. 5, 6, instead of כְּאֶחָד ('as one that is docile').

⁸ A deliberate archaism for a dweller in Jerusalem, implying that the converted Ekronite will be treated as though he had belonged to Israel from of old.

BOOK III
THE MACCABAEAN PERIOD

Chapter XVI

THE MACCABAEAN REVOLT: THE CAUSES WHICH LED TO IT

SUMMARY

[An antecedent cause of the Maccabaeen revolt was the existence of the Hellenizing party among the Jews themselves. The initiative in introducing Hellenistic customs was due to this party, but in the first instance the religious question did not arise. The conflict between the houses of Onias and Tobias was a contributory, though indirect, cause of the revolt. The primary direct entry of Antiochus Epiphanes into Jewish affairs was due to the refusal of the orthodox party among the Jews to recognize the right of their suzerain to appoint the High-priest. This culminated in the attempt to drive out Menelaus from the High-priesthood, to which he had been appointed, in place of Jason, by Antiochus. The Hellenistic party among the Jews encouraged Antiochus in his attempt to stamp out Judaism; so that the Maccabaeen revolt was largely due to what was, in effect, an alliance between Antiochus and the Hellenistic Jews against the orthodox party. Thus fortified, Antiochus went to work with the utmost energy in his endeavour to make the Jews as a nation conform to the religion of the rest of his people. The first step in resisting this attempt was taken by a priest named Mattathias, the head of a family living in the village of Modein. He slew the king's emissary who had come to offer sacrifice on a heathen altar, and then called upon all those who were faithful to the Law to follow him into the mountainous districts and organize resistance. His call was widely responded to. But as Mattathias was now an old man, he delegated the leadership of the revolt to his son Judas.]

EMPHASIS needs to be laid on the fact that the desire to hellenize the Jewish State was expressed by the Jewish political leaders years before Antiochus Epiphanes took a hand in this.¹ Soon after his accession to the Syrian throne in the summer of 175 B.C. an appeal was made to him by the Jewish leaders for permission to introduce into Jerusalem Greek customs, especially to build a gymnasium, a prime characteristic of a Greek city.

'In those days came there forth out of Israel transgressors of the law, and persuaded many, saying, Let us go and make a covenant

¹ More than a century before this time Hecataeus of Abdera (306-283 B.C.) wrote: 'Under the later rule of the Persians and of the Macedonians, who overthrew the empire of the latter, many of the traditional customs of the Jews were altered owing to their intercourse with aliens.'

with the Gentiles that are round about us; for since we were parted from them many evils have befallen us. And the saying was good in their eyes. And certain of the people were forward herein and went to the king [Antiochus Epiphanes is referred to by name at the beginning of the section], and he gave them licence to do after the ordinances of the Gentiles. And they built a place of exercise in Jerusalem according to the laws of the Gentiles; and they made themselves uncircumcized, and forsook the holy covenant, and joined themselves to the Gentiles, and sold themselves to do evil.'¹

It must be remembered that this was written at least half a century after the events recorded, when Jewish orthodoxy had gained the ascendant, and the religious outlook had become more circumscribed; and yet, though written from this standpoint, there is, with the exception of the reference to circumcision, no hint of any Jewish belief or of any Jewish religious practice being endangered through outside action. In 2 Macc. iv. 13, 14, it is true, reference is made to an alien religion being brought in, and the sacrifices being neglected; but although 2 *Maccabees* has preserved in some instances important and reliable information, it is of later date than 1 *Maccabees*, and on a point like this its evidence cannot be regarded as more authoritative than that of 1 *Maccabees*, the writer of which would certainly have made some reference to this fact had it really taken place. Josephus, whose evidence here is puzzling, makes it at least clear that there was an Egyptian party in Jerusalem, headed by Onias, and that the quarrel between him and Jason² had nothing to do with religion.³ It is also significant that no mention is made of the *Chasidim* (the 'pious ones')⁴ in connexion with this episode; they were actuated by religious motives pure and simple, and had the religious question come into play here, they would have taken some part in defence of their faith, which the writer of 1 *Maccabees* would not have omitted to mention; he brings them in as soon as the Jewish religion is endangered (1 Macc. ii. 42).

When Antiochus Epiphanes⁵ came to the throne, the High-priest Onias III⁶ was absent from Jerusalem, having gone to

¹ 1 Macc. i. 11-15; see also 2 Macc. iv. 7-17.

² See below, p. 221.

³ *Bell. Jud.* i. 31-3; see also *Antiq.* xii. 237-41. Schürer, *op. cit.*, i. 196 f., does not agree with this view, as against Willrich, Wellhausen, and Büchler, but he makes no attempt to refute it.

⁴ See further Additional Note H, p. 315.

⁵ Also called Epimanes ('the madman') by Polybius (*Athen.* v. 193d, x. 439a).

⁶ The son of the High-priest Simon II; see Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 224, 238.

the king (Seleucus IV had not yet been murdered) to induce him to intervene in the local troubles of Jerusalem. The absence of Onias and the general unrest caused by the conflict between Joseph's two elder sons against their younger brother Hyrcanus was taken advantage of by Jason, the brother of Onias, to get himself appointed High-priest; he succeeded in this mainly by means of the money offered as a bribe to the king,¹ though the fact that he sided with the dominant pro-Syrian party against the Egyptian party, whose recognized leader was Onias, would doubtless have commended him to Antiochus.

It is well to note here how external politics cut across internal Jewish politics; we have the Syrian and Egyptian parties, and we have the houses of Onias and Tobias; among the sons of Joseph, who are Tobiads, three belong to the Syrian party, one (Hyrcanus) to the Egyptian party; both Onias and Jason are Oniads; but Onias is pro-Egyptian, while Jason is pro-Syrian.

In the passage quoted above from *1 Maccabees* it is of course the pro-Syrian party that is referred to; and it is clear that the initiative was taken by Jason and his followers, not by Antiochus. And, as we have said, there was nothing in what was done, so far, by external action which, with the one exception mentioned, in any way touched the religion of the Jews. One thing, it is true, had happened which, although it could not be said to have interfered with their religion, did touch their religious sensibilities. The appointment by the king of a High-priest (Jason), though regarded by the former as a purely political act and entirely within his rights, would naturally be resented by the orthodox among the Jews.

It must be recognized that Antiochus, as suzerain, believed that he had a legal right to set up one and put down another in his subject states and provinces—considerations of justice and equity would not come in where political expediency or monetary gain were concerned; provincial and local governors could naturally not be appointed without royal sanction; to Antiochus the Jewish High-priest was nothing more than a local governor in a district within his realm. From the orthodox Jewish point of view it was different; the Jews regarded the High-priest as of divine appointment with which no human power, however exalted, had any right to interfere. Even the

¹ See 2 Macc. iv. 7-10.

fact that Jason belonged to the High-priestly family could not lessen their resentment. For them, therefore, Jason could not be recognized; Onias was the legitimate High-priest.

This clashing of views between Antiochus and the Jews, where each had a principle at stake which could not be surrendered, must be particularly noted; it was going to have consequences of the most fatal nature. For the present the opposition was merely passive, and no serious trouble arose.

Jason's position was secure so long as he had the king behind him; and he did all that he could to retain the royal favour. It was probably with this intent that he sent representatives to Tyre for the quinquennial games celebrated in honour of Heracles, together with an offering of 'three hundred drachmas of silver' for a sacrifice to the god.¹ It shows to what lengths the Hellenizers would go to gain their ends. Jason did not, however, enjoy his position for more than three years. The methods whereby he had achieved his object could be used by others. Menelaus, who was not even a member of the High-priestly family,² offered a large bribe to the king, and by this means got himself appointed to the High-priestly office. Jason had to flee from Jerusalem, and took refuge in Ammonite territory.³

This appointment to the High-priesthood of one who was not even a member of the High-priestly family could serve only to exasperate the law-loving Jews still more. And against him personally there was a particular reason for hatred, since he was instrumental in bringing about the murder of Onias, the true High-priest.⁴ But the main cause of the detestation in which Menelaus was held was on account of his instigating

¹ 2 Macc. iv. 18-20.

² See 2 Macc. iv. 23 ff. It is uncertain whether he was himself a Tobiad, but he was supported by them (*Antiq.* xii. 240; *Bell. Jud.* i. 131); he was a Benjamite.

³ The ancestral home, perhaps, of the Tobiad family; see Neh. ii. 10.

⁴ 2 Macc. iv. 27-38; it is also referred to in Dan. ix. 26, 'the anointed one shall be cut off', and xi. 22, 'the prince of the covenant'. Charles maintains that there is further evidence for the assassination of Onias in 1 Enoch xc. 8: 'the only valid interpretation of the words "the ravens flew upon those lambs, and took one of those lambs and dashed the sheep in pieces" is that "the one" here referred to is Onias, the son of Simon. By general consent "the ravens" are the Syrians under Antiochus Epiphanes' (*Commentary on Daniel*, p. 247 [1929]). After his murder, the son of Onias, also called Onias, who was thus the legitimate High-priest, went to Egypt, where he built a temple at Leontopolis. It continued to exist until after the destruction of the Jerusalem temple in A.D. 70; it then disappears from history.

Lysimachus,¹ his brother, to steal the holy vessels of the Temple. A graphic account is given in 2 Macc. iv. 39-42 of the popular uproar to which this gave rise. Lysimachus himself was killed by the mob; but that Menelaus was looked upon as the real author of the sacrilege is evident from what follows. An accusation is laid against him before the king; but by means of bribery he manages to clear himself; 'But Menelaus', it is said, 'through the covetous dealings of them that were in power, remained still in his office' (2 Macc. iv. 50).

Jason, however, was watching in his retreat for an opportunity to reassert himself. This occurred during the absence of Antiochus on his campaign against Egypt (169 B.C.);² Jason, hearing that the king was dead (a false rumour), hastened to Jerusalem and drove out Menelaus. Antiochus, compelled by the Romans to withdraw from Egypt,³ returned towards the end of the year in great wrath, wreaked his vengeance on the city,⁴ and desecrated the Temple. In the meantime, Jason had made good his escape and had reached his place of retreat.

It was not unnatural that Antiochus should have regarded the driving out of Menelaus—his nominee to the High-priesthood—as an act of rebellion (2 Macc. v. 11). Jason must have been well supported; as a member of the High-priestly family he was at least not so distasteful to the people as Menelaus; so that there was some justification for the king's suspicion. But the whole matter was still a political one. It is true, Antiochus plundered the Temple, but this was not intended to be a blow at the religion of the Jews, it was with the object of obtaining

¹ In 2 Macc. iv. 29 it is said that Menelaus left Lysimachus as his successor (*διάδοχος*) on account of his having been called to the king's presence; but this cannot mean that Lysimachus was ever High-priest. Menelaus would have had no power to make the appointment had he wished to do so; but it is clear that his visit to the court was only intended to be a temporary one.

² This date is that established by Niese, see Kolbe, *op. cit.*, p. 34 f.; see also Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, ii. 297 f.: 'According to 1 Macc. it was his *first* campaign of 170/169; according to 2 Maccabees his "second expedition to Egypt". This is generally taken to mean the expedition of 168, and, if so, there is, of course, an irreconcilable contradiction between the two books of the Maccabees. But I submit that the expression in 2 Maccabees may mean "second" in reference to the apparently abortive expedition of a few years before mentioned in iv. 21. At that time Antiochus heard that Egypt was preparing war and came south with a force. . . . Antiochus therefore might be described as setting out in 170/169 B.C. for his second *ἀφodus εἰς Αἴγυπτον*; it was the second time that Coele-Syria had experienced the passage of an army led by the king against Egypt although the first time that he actually attacked Egypt.'

³ Polybius, xxix. 27.

⁴ 1 Macc. i. 20-8.

wealth; he also probably believed that he had a right to do this.¹

Menelaus was, then, confirmed in the High-priesthood. But the Jews would have none of him; tumults arose in the city, and his position became precarious. The result was that Antiochus dispatched a Syrian official² to Jerusalem to take drastic measures.³

It was after this that the religious question came to the fore. But that Antiochus' *primary* object was to hellenize the Jews and stamp out their religion must be questioned. He was certainly a great apostle of hellenism; but why should he have chosen this particular time to attempt to hellenize the Jews? He had been reigning for seven years, and if he had meant the Jews to conform to his way of thinking he would assuredly have been at work long before this. The *initial* impetus which drove him to his attempt must be sought elsewhere. Schlatter is doubtless right in saying that it was due to the fact that the bulk of the people refused to recognize Menelaus as High-priest.⁴ It must be realized what this implied. In the eyes of the king this meant that the inalienable right of royalty to impose its will was challenged by what was claimed to be a higher power wielded by the unalterable, divinely given Law of the Jews. This was a thing unheard of. It was not only an insult to the royal dignity, but it was an outrage on the divinity of which the king was a manifestation,⁵ as his name 'Epiphanes' indicated. The Greek kings had an immeasurable, a superstitious conception of the royal power. In view of this it was necessary for Antiochus to show that his will was law, quite as divinely sanctioned, so he believed, as the Jewish Law. Therefore this Jewish Law, the Law of an insignificant, contemptible race, set up in opposition to him, must be swept away, and the people with it, if need be. It is here that we must seek the initial cause of the action that was now to be taken; that it developed into a religious persecution was inevitable. It must, however, be recognized that not all scholars take this view. For example, Kolbe believes that Antiochus' final failure in Egypt—brought about by the intervention of the Roman power—induced him to alter his

¹ On this see Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, ii. 156.

² His name is given as Apollonius in 2 Macc. v. 24, but it is not mentioned in

1 Macc. i. 29.

³ See 1 Macc. i. 30-3.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 107.

⁵ Cp. Dan. xi. 36.

home policy. Having been baulked in his schemes of territorial expansion, he fell back upon the policy of consolidating the component parts of his empire. This centred in the purpose of enforcing uniformity upon all the lands under Syrian rule; the acceptance of Hellenistic religion and culture was to be the means whereby unity would be effected; in this way the State would acquire internal strength as a set-off against baulked external expansion. Kolbe lays stress on the words of 1 Macc. i. 41, 42: 'And king Antiochus wrote to *his whole kingdom*, that all should be one people, and that each should forsake his own laws. . . .'¹ While recognizing that there is much to be said in favour of this view, against it is the fact that there is nothing to show that the other parts of the Syrian empire—apart from Judaea—had not already accepted what Antiochus desired;² in fact, 1 Macc. ii. 19 (quoted below) implies that they had done this.

However this may be, Antiochus, as we have seen, sent 'a chief collector of tribute', as he is called in 1 Macc. i. 29, to show the people in Jerusalem that the king's will was law. This official, we are told, 'fell upon the city suddenly', after feigning friendship, 'and smote it very sore and destroyed much people out of Israel. And he took the spoils of the city, and set it on fire, and pulled down the houses thereof on every side. And they led captive the women and children, and the cattle they took in possession' (1 Macc. i. 30-2). So far it is clear that this was merely a vindictive act of vengeance. But then follows what must be the real key to the understanding of the subsequent events. In verse 34 it is said: 'And they put there a sinful nation, transgressors of the law, and they strengthened themselves therein.' It is necessary to be clear about what these words precisely mean. When it is said: 'And they put there', the 'they' obviously refers to 'the chief collector of the tribute' and the 'great multitude', mentioned in the opening verse of the section (verse 29). The 'there' equally clearly refers to the citadel³ which they had built (verse 33). On the other hand,

¹ *Beiträge zur syrischen und jüdischen Geschichte*, p. 153 (1926).

² See especially Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, ii. 148 ff. Tacitus says: 'Antiochus . . . formed a plan to weed out the superstition of the country; to reform, if possible, so corrupt a race, he intended to introduce the manners and institutions of Greece' (*Hist.* v. 8); this reads like a mere outburst of anti-Semitism.

³ i.e. the *Akra*, to be distinguished from the Temple fortress ('Zion') held by the faithful. The *Akra* was on the site of the old 'city of David'; in the Old

'the sinful nation, transgressors of the law', who 'strengthened themselves therein', i.e. in the citadel, can only refer to the Hellenistic Jews, or a section of them. Josephus, in dealing with this episode, says: 'In that citadel dwelt the impious and wicked part of the multitude, from whom it turned out that the citizens suffered many and sore calamities'; when he speaks here of the 'impious and wicked part of the multitude', he likewise can mean only the Hellenistic Jews who sided with the Syrian soldiery. Then, in 1 Macc. i. 35 ff., the record goes on to say of this 'sinful nation, transgressors of the law', that 'they stored up arms and victuals, and gathering together the spoils of Jerusalem, they laid them up there; and they became a sore snare; and it became a place to lie in wait against the sanctuary, and an evil adversary to Israel continually. And they shed innocent blood on every side of the sanctuary, and defiled the sanctuary. And the inhabitants of Jerusalem fled because of them, and she became a habitation of strangers, and she became strange to them that were born in her, and her children forsook her. Her sanctuary was laid waste like a wilderness, her feasts were turned into mourning, her sabbaths into reproach, her honour into contempt.' It has been necessary to quote this passage in full in order to make clear what the position really was; for when it is asked who took the first step in the attempt to eradicate Judaism, who they were who slaughtered the Jews when they came up to the sanctuary to worship, who laid waste the sanctuary and abrogated the feasts and sabbaths and brought contempt upon the holy place—the answer is, not the Syrians; but the Jewish Hellenistic party, the 'transgressors of the law'. And this is Jewish testimony.

It is, therefore, not a matter of surprise that Antiochus, himself an ardent Hellenist, should have accepted the hint thus offered, and in supporting those who were like-minded with himself, have pushed forward the cause of Hellenism *con amore*. It is significant that not until the action of the Jewish Hellenistic party has been fully described is there any mention of Antiochus assailing the *religion* of the Jews. This occurs in verses 41 ff.; and when once he did begin he carried out his

Testament the 'city of David' is called Zion; this is apt to cause confusion unless one remembers the distinction to be made here between the *Akra* and the Temple fortress ('Zion').

undertaking with fanatical zeal: all Jewish sacrifices were forbidden, sabbaths and feasts were not to be observed, and the rite of circumcision was no longer to be practised. On the other hand, heathen altars were to be set up and shrines built for idols, swine's flesh and unclean animals were to be sacrificed. By this means it was intended that the Jews should be made to forget their Law and its ordinances. Disobedience was to be punished with death. To crown all, an altar to the Olympian Zeus was placed upon the altar of the Temple.¹ Among the Samaritans, too, something similar was done; the Temple on Mount Gerizim was dedicated to Zeus Xenios, 'Zeus the Protector of strangers'.² Special mention is also made of the destruction of the Scriptures, the possession of which entailed the death penalty.

The effect of this was the submission of many Jews; but a greater number resisted, and men, women, and children were put to death.³

The resistance was at first passive; but very soon active aggression developed. During the process of carrying out the royal decree some of the king's emissaries came to a small village called Modein, situated in the hilly country near Lydda, about two-thirds of the way between Jerusalem and Joppa. They called upon Mattathias,⁴ a priest and the head of his (the Hasmonaeon) house, to offer sacrifice upon a heathen altar which had been set up. His noble and fearless reply was: 'If all the nations that are in the house of the king's dominion hearken unto him, to fall away each one from the worship of his fathers, and have made choice to follow his commandments—Heaven forbid that we should forsake the law and the ordinances. We will not hearken to the king's words to go aside from our worship, on the right hand or on the left.'⁵ Thereupon a renegade Jew stepped forward with the purpose of offering sacrifice; but Mattathias in holy wrath 'slew him on the altar'; then he turned on the king's officer and killed him, and destroyed the altar. The trumpet of revolt was sounded as he cried out to the

¹ The expression 'an abomination of desolation', i.e. a desolating abomination, is applied to it in Dan. ix. 27; cp. Matth. xxiv. 15, Mark xiii. 14. ² 2 Macc. vi. 2.

³ See 1 Macc. i. 41–64; Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 255, 256; cp. *Bell. Jud.* i. 34, 35.

⁴ The family name was Hasmon, hence the 'Hasmonaeans' whereby the Maccabees were known in later Jewish literature; the origin of the family is unknown. The term 'Maccabaeon' is properly applied only to Judas, see below, p. 229.

⁵ 1 Macc. ii. 19–22.

people gathered round: 'Whosoever is zealous for the law, and maintaineth the covenant, let him come forth after me.' He and his sons with their followers fled into the mountains, leaving their possessions behind them.¹

That was the beginning. Very soon the loyal Jews flocked to Mattathias in his mountain fastness. As passive resistance was now no more the order of the day, vigorous measures were immediately decided upon. The first step was the attempt to purge the land of apostate Jews, i.e. those belonging to the Hellenistic party; this was the only way whereby to stiffen the waverers who had been cowed, no doubt in many cases unwillingly, into submission to the ruling powers. So, in the words of the record, 'they smote sinners in their anger, and lawless men in their wrath; and the rest fled to the Gentiles for safety.'²

This opposition to authority could, of course, not be ignored by the dominant party, trivial as it no doubt appeared to them. The first contact between the king's forces and the orthodox Jews was disastrous for the latter, and illustrated their fanatical adherence to the Law. A heterogeneous multitude had taken refuge in a wild part of the country and were brought to bay by a detachment of the royal troops; since it was a Sabbath day the fugitives refused to fight, or even to defend their women and children; the result was a ruthless massacre.³

It at once became clear to the loyalist Jews that this well-meant but mistaken action would defeat the end they had in view, since if all those true to the Law were to lay down their lives in this way, there would be nobody left to champion the Law. It was, therefore, decided that, if attacked on the Sabbath, they would retaliate. Even the strictest among the loyalists were in favour of this; and we find that at this point the *Chasidim* joined the revolt. Their presence seems to have had the effect of still further inflaming the zeal of the loyalists, as immediately after joining the ranks of Mattathias' followers we read that they 'pulled down the altars, and they circumcised the children by force that were uncircumcized, as many as they found in the coasts of Israel. And they pursued after the sons of pride and the work prospered in their hand. And they rescued the law out of the hand of the Gentiles . . .'⁴

¹ 1 Macc. ii. 23-8.

² Ibid., 29-38; on the *Chasidim*, mentioned in 1 Macc. ii. 42, see also Dan. xi. 33, 1 Enoch xc. 6-9.

³ Ibid., 44.

⁴ 1 Macc. ii. 43 ff.

Mattathias was already an old man when all this happened, and he felt that his days were nearly spent. He, therefore, gave charge to his sons to carry on the struggle for religious freedom: 'Simon', he said, 'I know is a man of counsel; give ear to him alway; he shall be a father unto you. And Judas Maccabaeus, he hath been strong and mighty from his youth; he shall be your captain.' Soon after this he died, in the year 166/5 B.C., and his sons buried him in the sepulchres of his fathers in Modein, 'and all Israel made great lamentation for him.'¹

¹ 1 Macc. ii. 49-70.

Chapter XVII
THE MACCABAEAN REVOLT
THE LEADERSHIP OF JUDAS MACCABAEUS
(166/5-APRIL 160 B.C.)

SUMMARY

[Judas Maccabaeus, the only one of the sons of Mattathias to whom this epithet (perhaps 'the Hammerer') is applied, began his leadership with some notable successes against the Syrians; he defeated the evidently moderate forces under Apollonius and Seron; the former fell in battle. There is some doubt as to who undertook the next step against Judas; the sources differ; according to *1 Maccabees* it was from Antioch, at head-quarters, that commands were issued and that three generals were sent to deal with the matter; according to *2 Maccabees* it was the provincial governor who took action. The latter seems to have been the more likely course, for the revolt had not yet assumed such serious proportions as to call for action on the part of the central government. The varying numbers of the Syrian forces given in the sources show how unreliable these are. Judas was again victorious, thanks to good generalship and the nature of the ground, which favoured guerilla warfare. For more than a year the Syrians, owing to complications in the central part of the empire, desisted from further operations against the Jews. Judas utilized the respite for consolidating his position. Jerusalem was occupied, with the exception of the *Akra*, where a Syrian garrison still held its own; the Temple was cleansed and dedicated, and the worship was re-established.

Thus the original object of the revolt, religious freedom, was achieved. Judas, not content with this, now sought to conquer new territory. In consequence, Lysias, the Syrian regent, undertook a campaign in person. At the first encounter, though the Jews made a heroic attack, Judas was forced to retire on Jerusalem, where he prepared for a siege. Lysias was, however, suddenly compelled to return to Antioch; he, therefore, made terms of a very favourable character with Judas, and withdrew. The unexpected and honourable peace thus gained was broken by Judas, who now sought political freedom in addition to the religious freedom already gained. The strife among the claimants to the Syrian throne prevented interference from the suzerain power for the time being; of this Judas took advantage, and to strengthen his position, morally, he concluded a treaty with Rome. The event which ultimately brought the Syrians on to Palestinian soil again was the refusal of the Maccabaeon party to recognize Alkimus as High-priest; he was the

leader of the pro-Syrian, Hellenistic, party in Jerusalem, and finding his position untenable, he called upon Demetrius, the Syrian ruler, for help. This was readily accorded, and Bacchides, a Syrian magnate, was sent with an army to support Alkimus. Bacchides left his force in Palestine and returned to Antioch, thinking that Alkimus would be able to assert himself with the soldiers at his disposal. But this was not the case, and Alkimus had to appeal again to the Syrian king for help against Judas. In response to this the 'elephantarch' Nicanor was sent; a battle was fought at Adasa, in which Judas was victorious and Nicanor was killed. Soon after, another and larger Syrian force was sent under the command of Bacchides. The followers of Judas lost heart when they saw the numbers opposed to them; a handful, however, remained faithful. In the battle at Elasa which then took place the Jews were overwhelmed, and Judas fell.

The bravery and resourcefulness of Judas were remarkable; and as a leader in guerilla warfare he was without a rival in those days. But in face of anything more than a small force of trained soldiers he was unable to assert himself for any length of time; a fact which cannot occasion surprise. His great achievement was the gaining of religious freedom for his people, a gain which was permanent. A careful sifting of the evidence shows that Judas never filled the office of High-priest.]

JUDAS is the only one of the five sons of Mattathias—the others were John, Simon, Jonathan, and Eleazar—who is called 'Maccabaeus'. The meaning of this name is uncertain; it may mean either the 'hammerer' or the 'exterminator'; the former is the more generally accepted meaning.¹ It was with Judas the Maccabee that the struggle really developed. At first there was only a series of encounters between what must be regarded as guerilla bands and small bodies of Syrian troops quartered

¹ In Rabbinical literature the word is written both מַכְבִּי and מַכְבֵּי; the former would suggest 'hammerer' or 'piercer', the latter 'quencher' or 'extinguisher'. An ingenious suggestion is offered by Professor A. A. Bevan to the effect that Maccabaeus is a graecized form of the Hebrew *Makkabai* (מַכְבִּי) which is an abbreviation of *Makkabiah* (מַכְבִּיָּה) and that this name was coined on the basis of the Hebrew verb used in Isa. lxii. 2, 'And thou shalt be called by a new name which the mouth of Yahweh shall name' (וְנִקְרָא) from the root נָקַב meaning 'pierce' in the sense of 'mark off'; for such a formation there are various analogies (*Journal of Theol. Studies* for Jan. 1929, pp. 191 ff.). In 1 Macc. ii. 66 it is said: 'And Judas Maccabaeus he hath been strong and mighty from his youth', if one might assume that one of these adjectives represents the Hebrew *Kabbir* (קַבִּיר, cp., e.g., Job xxxiv. 24), the word-play, so dear to Hebrew writers, would tend to support Professor Bevan's suggestion.

locally.¹ The initial successes of Judas' followers were in part due to the nature of the ground; the Judaeian hill-country lent itself to guerilla warfare, especially as the Jews were familiar with the district; but more decisive was the fact that the Jews were actuated by religious zeal; it is very noticeable how the conviction is expressed that they were fighting under divine guidance; thus, on one occasion, when the Jews expressed the fear that the smallness of their numbers was insufficient to cope with the more numerous enemy, Judas retorted: 'With Heaven it is all one, to save by many or by few; for victory in battle standeth not in the multitude of a host; but strength is from Heaven.'² Besides this, there is no doubt that Judas was an intrepid and able leader, and one who inspired enthusiasm and bravery in others. The panegyric on him in 1 Macc. iii. 3-9, though somewhat exaggerated in its expressions, shows in what form the memory of him was preserved.

Two preliminary encounters are mentioned; in each case Judas was victorious. In the first, Apollonius, the Syrian leader, was killed and his sword Judas took and wielded in all the successive battles. In the second, the Syrian forces under Seron, apparently in larger numbers, met Judas at Bethhoron; the sudden attack of the Maccabaeans seems to have taken the Syrians unawares, and in their flight they are said to have lost eight hundred of their number.³ This was in the first year of Judas' leadership, 166/5 B.C.⁴

Antiochus Epiphanes saw that more vigorous efforts would need to be made if this revolt were to be crushed. But that he did not regard the matter as really serious may be gathered from the fact that he went off to the east to undertake a campaign against the Parthians. In 1 Macc. iii. 27 ff., Antiochus' departure to the eastern part of his empire is explained by saying that he required money: 'he was exceedingly perplexed in his mind', it is said, 'and he determined to go into Persia, and to take the tributes of the countries, and to gather much money.' This is not convincing. Judaea was a comparatively insignificant part of the empire, and the expense involved in quelling a local revolt would be regarded as trifling to the ruler of such a wide-

¹ e.g. in 1 Macc. iii. 10 ff., where the first encounter is recorded, the Syrian soldiery come from Samaria; evidently this was the local garrison; the 'great host' is rhetorical.

² 1 Macc. iii. 18, 19, cp. verses 44, 60, iv. 9, 10, 25, 30 ff., and elsewhere.

³ Ibid., 23, 24. ⁴ See further, Additional Note E, § 1.

spreading empire as that of the Seleucids. Besides, as will be seen, the measures now to be taken in combating Judas were of quite a modest character. The writer of *1 Maccabees* overestimated the importance of his countrymen's feats. To the Syrians, at any rate for the present, the whole affair, though annoying, was unimportant.

Antiochus, therefore, left this matter to be dealt with by a subordinate while he himself attended to his more important task. In what now follows we are met with the difficulty of variations in the records. According to *1 Macc.* iii. 38, Lysias, who was regent in Antioch during the king's absence, appointed Ptolemy the son of Dorymenes, and Nicanor the son of Patroclus, and Gorgias, to continue the struggle. But according to *2 Macc.* viii. 8, Philip, the governor of Jerusalem (*2 Macc.* v. 22), seeing that Judas was 'gaining ground little by little', addressed himself to Ptolemy, the satrap of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia, his superior, to take measures against Judas. So that in *1 Maccabees* it is Lysias, the first man in the realm, who is represented as taking the initiative; while in *2 Maccabees* it is the provincial governor, a much humbler personality, who does this. It must be confessed that here *2 Maccabees* is more likely to be correct; for it is more probable that, in a case like this, the man primarily responsible for order in his district would be the one to take measures. The writer of *1 Maccabees* again regards the Jewish revolt as so important that he feels it necessary to represent the regent as directly concerned in seeking to repress it. The fighting began in the summer of 164 B.C. Regarding the respective numbers of the combatants there is a large discrepancy between the records. In *1 Macc.* iii. 39 the Syrian troops consist of 40,000 footmen and 7,000 horsemen, while in *2 Macc.* viii. 9 there are only 20,000 footmen and no horsemen. On the other hand, the Jewish forces, according to *1 Macc.* iv. 6, consist of 3,000 men, according to *2 Macc.* viii. 16 of 6,000. When, however, battle is joined, Gorgias—he is the only one of the three afore-mentioned Syrian leaders who takes the field—has only 5,000 footmen and 1,000 horsemen under his command.¹

It is obvious that the higher numbers cannot be taken seriously, for, according to *1 Macc.* iii. 53, iv. 8, 9, the Jews

¹ Josephus (*Antiq.* xii. 298–304); whenever he gives numbers he follows *1 Maccabees*; he does not mention the number of Jews under Judas.

clearly regarded the enemy forces as more numerous than their own. We may, therefore, conclude that, as Gorgias had only 6,000 all told, the number of the Jews was, as given in *1 Maccabees*, 3,000. These are not large numbers, so that in this second phase of the operations the revolt is not even yet looked upon as serious.

Judas was again victorious, thanks to good generalship and quickness of movement (*1 Macc.* iv. 3-6, 19-22); and for well over a year from now (164-162 B.C.), for reasons to which attention will be drawn later, the Syrian authorities withdrew from the struggle. The opportunity was seized by Judas to consolidate his position. His first act was to enter Jerusalem with the primary object of making the Temple once more the centre of national worship; 'Behold our enemies are discomfited; let us go up to cleanse the holy place and to dedicate it afresh. And all the army gathered together, and they went up to Mount Sion'.¹ He was not able, it is true, to drive the Syrian garrison out of the fortress (*Akra*), which was held in possession for long after this; but that did not prevent him from carrying out his purpose. All damage to the Temple was made good, every pollution cleansed away, and the desecrated altar destroyed and replaced by a new one. The Syrian garrison was held in check so that the work proceeded without hindrance. Then, on the third anniversary of the day on which a heathen sacrifice had been offered on the altar of the Lord, the rededication of the Temple took place (December 164).²

The object of the Maccabaeen revolt had thus been achieved; the Jews who were loyal to the faith of their fathers had been

¹ *1 Macc.* iv. 36, 37; see also *2 Macc.* x. 1, 2, 5-7.

² In memory of this, the *Chanukkah* ('Dedication') festival has been observed by the Jews ever since. Its celebration has points of contact with the feast of Tabernacles (*Sukkoth*, cp. *2 Macc.* i. 18 ff.), which, like *Chanukkah*, lasts eight days and at which lights have always been a prominent feature. According to Josephus (*Antiq.* xii. 325), the popular name for the festival was Φῶτα (the festival of 'lights'). It also goes by the name of 'The Feast of the Asmonaeans'. It is referred to in John x. 22 as 'the feast of dedication' (τὰ ἐγκαίνια). For the origin and meaning of the *Chanukkah* festival see the very interesting volume published by O. S. Rankin, *The Origins of the Festival of Hanukkah, the Jewish New-Age Festival* (1930); he pointedly remarks that the statements of *1 Macc.* i. 54 ff., iv. 52 f., *2 Macc.* x. 5, 'which place both the desecration and the Hanukkah of the house in Kislev are to be looked upon in the light of the desire to fit the great happenings of the time into a divinely inspired providential system. For, according to Daniel, the defilement of the temple and the cessation of the sacrifice occurred in midsummer and there is little doubt as to which is the more trustworthy evidence' (p. 103 f., and the footnote on p. 104).

forced into opposition because of the attempt to extirpate their religion, the most signal mark of which had been the desecration of their Temple. With the defeat of their foes and the rededication of the Temple *religious freedom* had been won.¹ It was soon after this that in response to appeals from the Jews in Galilee and Gilead, who were being oppressed by their Gentile neighbours, Judas and Simon undertook expeditions into these districts (Judas and Jonathan to Gilead and Simon to Galilee), and rescued their compatriots, and brought them back into the land of Judaea.² This episode is of interest because it shows that Jews of the orthodox type were not confined to Judaea. It is probable, especially as Antiochus Epiphanes died soon after this (in the spring of 163/2 B.C.),³ that the Jews would now have been left in peace without further interference with their religion, had it not been for the action which Judas took. Confident in what he believed to be the invincibility of his troops, he now aspired to extension of territory. For it seems clear from 1 Macc. v. 1-54 and 2 Macc. viii. 30 ff., x. 14 ff., xii. i. ff., that his next purpose was to extend the borders of the land.⁴ Taking these two sources together it appears that Judas undertook successful campaigns in Edom (Idumaea), in the Philistine coast-land, and on the east of Jordan. All this took time; but during at least a whole year there was no attempt at interference from the Syrians. The reason for this was that affairs in other parts of the empire absorbed the attention of the ruling powers; what had happened there was briefly as follows:

Lysias had been appointed regent of the realm on Antiochus' departure for the Parthian campaign. But Antiochus had, on his deathbed, appointed one of his generals, Philip, to the regency of the realm and to the guardianship of the boy-king Antiochus Eupator. Why Philip was appointed to the position hitherto held by Lysias is not known; but naturally the latter resented this. Eupator had been placed under his care; and with the boy-king in his power, he disregarded the late king's directions, and continued to act as regent. Nevertheless, he would know that sooner or later Philip would make an attempt to gain by force the position to which the late king had appointed

¹ See, further, Additional Note E, § 2.

² 1 Macc. v. 9-54.

³ Polybius, xxxi. 9; 1 Macc. vi. 16; *Antiq.* xii. 361.

⁴ Schürer believes that these expeditions of Judas had as their object concentration, not expansion.

him. Hence Lysias was too much occupied during the year 164/3 B.C. to trouble about what was going on in Judaea.

At this time the governor of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia, by name Ptolemy¹ Makron, was friendly inclined to the Jews; he, 'setting an example of observing justice towards the Jews because of the wrong that had been done unto them, endeavoured to conduct his dealings with them on peaceful terms'.² Kolbe believes that this is an indication that Syrian policy was inclined to meet the Jews half-way,³ and that therefore the cessation of hostilities was due to this, quite apart from the fact of Lysias' enforced absence from Syria. But evidently the more fanatical among the Jews were not satisfied; Judas' recent successes had aroused great self-confidence, and it was a bitter thorn in their side that Jerusalem should still harbour a Syrian garrison in the *Akra*, and that difficulties should be put in the way of those desirous of going to the sanctuary.⁴ Judas, therefore, besieged the garrison in the *Akra*; while this was going on some of the besieged escaped, and, being joined by 'certain ungodly men of Israel',⁵ appealed to the king with arguments which could not fail to move him to action:

'How long wilt thou not exercise judgement and avenge our brethren? We were willing to serve thy father,⁶ and to walk after his words, and to follow his commandments; and for this cause the children of our people besieged the citadel, and were alienated from us. . . . And not only against us did they stretch out their hand, but also against all their borders. And, behold, they are encamped this day against the citadel at Jerusalem, to take it; and the sanctuary and Bethsura have they fortified. And if ye be not beforehand with them quickly, they will do greater things than these, and thou shalt not be able to control them.'⁷

It now became clear to Lysias that a vigorous effort must be made to put down the revolt once and for all. Therefore, believing that Philip was for the present sufficiently occupied in the east, he decided to settle matters in Palestine.

A word must be said here about what have always been

¹ Not to be confused with Ptolemy the son of Dorymenes, leader of the Syrians against the Jews (1 Macc. iii. 38, 2 Macc. vi. 8, viii. 8).

² 2 Macc. x. 12.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 160.

⁴ 1 Macc. vi. 18.

⁵ No doubt, as Kolbe thinks, Menelaus was the moving spirit here; cp. 2 Macc. xiii. 3.

⁶ Eupator, the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, is being addressed, but of course Lysias was the effective ruler.

⁷ 1 Macc. vi. 23-7.

regarded as the two campaigns of Lysias. In both the books of *Maccabees* an earlier campaign (in 165/4 B.C.) is mentioned (1 Macc. iv. 26–35, 2 Macc. xi. 1–15). But Kolbe¹ has shown, by a careful comparison of the two (the second is described in the passage now about to be considered, 1 Macc. vi. 28–63 = 2 Macc. xiii. 1–26), that the close similarity between them proves that one is a doublet of the other. In the earlier campaign the name of Lysias was inserted for the purpose of magnifying the operations against the Jews, and this made it appear as though Lysias had undertaken two campaigns against them. But there was in reality only one, that to be referred to now; this took place in 162 B.C.²

Lysias is not mentioned at the beginning of the account, but only the king; this, again, is characteristic of the narrator of 1 *Maccabees*, who likes to make the most of Judas' opponents. But the king was too young to lead a campaign; Lysias conducted it (vi. 50), and naturally kept the boy-king Eupator under his eye. The objective was, of course, Jerusalem, which the Syrian army approached from the south, marching through Idumaea. They were first held up at Bethsura, where a stubborn resistance was offered. Leaving Bethsura invested, Lysias pushed on northwards. A pitched battle was fought at Bethzacharias, the Syrians being attacked by Judas. A spirited account is given of the Jews' onslaught on the Syrian elephant corps, when Eleazar, the brother of Judas,³ believing that the king was on a particularly big elephant, made a dash for it, and creeping under it pierced it; but the animal fell on him and crushed him to death. Judas, however, saw that the enemy was too strong, and wisely 'turned away from them'. Josephus adds the further detail that Judas and his following retired to Jerusalem 'and prepared to endure a siege' (*Antiq.* xii. 375). The way was thus clear for the Syrians to continue their march to Jerusalem. Then it is said that Lysias 'encamped against the sanctuary many days . . . and there were but few left in the sanctuary, because the famine prevailed against them, and they were scattered, each man to his own place' (1 Macc. vi. 51–4); this gives the impression that the sanctuary was

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 79–81.

² It is, however, only right to point out that some authorities do not agree with Kolbe; for example, Edwyn Bevan, in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, viii. 515, holds the contrary view.

³ See 1 Macc. ii. 4.

entirely evacuated; but it would appear from what Josephus says that some of the Jews, doubtless with Judas still among them, resisted.¹ In the meantime Bethsura was starved out, and capitulated; a garrison was stationed in it.²

Things could hardly have looked darker for the Maccabaeans; Judas, separated from the bulk of his supporters, and shut up in the Temple fortress with a mere handful of supporters, must have realized that the end was impending. Then occurred an unexpected turn of events. Lysias received news that Philip, the rightful regent, had returned from the east, and had arrived in Antioch with an army, determined to assert his rights to the regency. The position of Lysias was thus gravely jeopardized; it was quite imperative that he should go at once to the capital and deal with Philip. This involved the patching up of a peace with Judas, for all available forces would now be required elsewhere. Doubtless Judas fully realized Lysias' dilemma, and determined to make the most of it. Hence it was that, though on the very brink of final disaster, the Jews suddenly found themselves in a most favourable position. The terms were of a generous character; the words of advice given by Lysias to the king, as recorded in 1 Macc. vi. 58, 59, show this: 'Now, therefore, let us give the right hand to these men, and make peace with them and with all their nation, and covenant with them, that they shall walk after their own laws, as aforetime; for because of their laws which we abolished they were angered, and did all these things.' According to 2 Macc. xiii. 24, Judas, who in the eyes of Lysias and the king was the real instigator of the trouble, was shown kindness and graciously received. Thus, a free pardon was granted to the rebels and full religious freedom. Perhaps it was by way of further conciliating them that Lysias advised the king to slay Menelaus; Josephus makes him say to the king that 'this man was the origin of all the mischief the Jews had done them, by persuading his father to compel the Jews to leave the religion of their fathers'. Menelaus was, therefore, sent to Beroea and put to death.³ On the other hand, Judas had to submit to the destruction of the Temple

¹ At the same time, since Josephus was dependent upon 1 *Maccabees*, the other details he gives may be merely his own ideas.

² In 2 Macc. xiii. 22 it is added: 'The king treated with them in Bethsura a second time, gave his hand, took theirs, departed, attacked the forces of Judas, was put to the worse . . .'; this is quite unhistorical.

³ *Antiq.* xii. 385; see also xx. 235, and 2 Macc. xiii. 3-8, where details are given.

fortress, and to the retention of the *Akra* by the Syrian garrison; and from 1 Macc. vii. 33, where reference is made to 'the whole burnt sacrifice that was being offered for the king', it would seem that one of the stipulations was that the king should be remembered in the Temple service.¹ It is also added in 2 Macc. xiii. 24 that a new military Syrian governor was appointed for southern Palestine with his head-quarters at Ptolemaïs; his name is given as Hegemonides.

With the gaining of religious freedom for the second time, which had been the ostensible object of the fighting, one would expect that the peace which had been concluded would have been permanent. That this was not the case shows again that something more than the desire for religious freedom lay behind the activity of the Maccabaeans.

It will be remembered that, on the former occasion when religious freedom had been gained and the Jews had been left in peace, it was Judas' action which broke the peace and which brought Lysias into the field, and that this action was the attack on the Syrian garrison in the *Akra*. There is reason to believe that this attack on the Syrian troops was not prompted solely by the alleged interference with people going to the sanctuary, but that behind this there was the desire of getting rid of the Syrian soldiery altogether, for their presence was the effective mark of Syrian suzerainty. In other words, Judas was aiming at *political freedom* as well as religious freedom. This is borne out, as will be seen presently, by Judas' dealings with Rome. Now, in the peace concluded with Lysias, with which we have just dealt, there were three items which definitely emphasized the continuance of Syrian suzerainty: the presence of the Syrian garrison in the *Akra*, the offering of sacrifice for the Syrian king, and the appointment of a new Syrian governor over southern Palestine. This meant that, so far as the political status of the Jews was concerned, they were held more firmly than ever under the Syrian yoke. The ambition of the Maccabaeans could not tolerate this. It must, therefore, be recognized that from now onwards the continuance of the Maccabaeian struggle had for its object entire political independence.

An opportunity very soon offered itself for taking the first

¹ This was only, however, the renewal of an ancient custom, see Ezra vi. 10, Jer. xxix. 7; cp. also Baruch i. 10, 11.

step in this direction; and Judas was not behindhand in seizing it. A glance at affairs in the Syrian kingdom is here necessary.

When, in 163 B.C., Antiochus Epiphanes died, he was, as we have seen, succeeded by his son, the boy-king Antiochus V, Eupator. But the nephew of Epiphanes, Demetrius the son of Seleucus IV, who had been kept as a hostage in Rome, cast envious eyes upon the Syrian throne. He sought to be released; but as this was refused by the Senate, he managed to escape.

On his arrival in Syria, in the autumn of 162 B.C., he was welcomed by both the populace and the army. He then had his cousin, Antiochus Eupator, put to death, and obtained the throne. But, naturally enough, Rome would not recognize him as king; one result of this was that he had to face the opposition of two vassal-kings of Rome, those of Cappadocia and Pergamon. In addition to this a more serious complication arose by the appearance of another claimant to the Syrian throne; this was Timarchus, the satrap of Babylonia and Media; and he received the approval of Rome.

The difficulties in which Demetrius was thus involved gave Judas the opportunity for which he sought of making a bid for independence. And now we have the first contact between the Jews and the Roman power (161 B.C.). Judas sent an embassy to Rome 'to make a league of amity and confederacy'.¹ A treaty was concluded according to which the Romans promised support to the Jews in the event of their being attacked, while the Jews undertook to be Rome's confederates against any of her enemies.²

The genuineness of the document containing this treaty is disputed by some scholars³ on the ground that to recognize the independence of the Jewish State would have been a deliberate plunging into war with Syria; and also that, as the sequel shows, no help was forthcoming from Rome when Demetrius attacked and defeated the Jews. But, as Dr. Edwyn Bevan says, 'these objections have no force in view of the fact that Rome behaved in just the same way in regard to the rebel Timarchus. It recognized him as king, but allowed him to fall before Demetrius

¹ 1 Macc. viii. 17. Chap. ix follows logically after chap. vii, while chap. viii breaks the continuity of the narrative.

² 1 Macc. viii. 23-8.

³ Willrich, *Urkundenfälschung in der hellenistisch-jüdischen Literatur*, pp. 44 ff. (1924), denies that the treaty of Judas with Rome is historical, and Kolbe, *op. cit.*, p. 163, is inclined to agree with him.

unassisted. The Senate had indeed no intention of intervening by armed force in Syria; it only desired to embarrass Demetrius, and that it did by giving countenance to his enemies.¹

In the meantime, the High-priest Menelaus had been succeeded by Alkimus. His Jewish name was Jakim; Josephus speaks of him as 'Alkimus who was called Jakim'; he was a priest 'of the seed of Aaron' (1 Macc. vii. 14). It is not quite clear when or by whom he was appointed; according to 1 Macc. vii. 4-6, 9, it would appear that he owed his appointment to Demetrius; but Josephus² says it was Antiochus Eupator, i.e. in reality Lysias, who did so; 2 Macc. xiv. 1-10, too, gives the impression that he was appointed by Antiochus Eupator, and later confirmed in his position by Demetrius. The probability is that Josephus is right here, and that Judas, relying on Rome's promise, made the position of Alkimus so difficult that he appealed to Demetrius for help (1 Macc. vii. 5-7). As Alkimus was the leader of the pro-Syrian party in Palestine it was natural that Demetrius should respond to the appeal made by him; he, therefore, sent Bacchides, 'who was ruler in the country beyond the river, and was a great man in the kingdom, and faithful to the king.' Alkimus, with the support of this officer and a 'great host', arrived in Judaea. And now we get a significant indication of a difference of point of view among the Jewish nationalists. On the arrival of Alkimus we read of his being received in a friendly way by the scribes and the *Chasidim*—the latter are represented as saying: 'One that is a priest of the seed of Aaron is come with the forces, and he will do us no wrong.' Judas and his followers, on the other hand, would have nothing to do with Alkimus. The *Chasidim* had been among the first to rally round those who revolted when it was a question of attacking their religion (1 Macc. ii. 42); but religious freedom having once been conceded—and the appointment of the High-priest of the house of Aaron would naturally seem to them to emphasize this—they had no intention of being mixed up with political affairs. But Judas, as we have seen, was not satisfied with having secured religious freedom; his ambitions were now of a political character.

However, the *Chasidim* were deceived in Alkimus; although he promised by oath to deal honourably with them, he broke his word and instituted a massacre among them (1 Macc. vii. 16).

¹ In a private communication.

² *Antiq.* xii. 385; xx. 235.

This was, of course, the signal for a new outbreak of disturbances. But Bacchides evidently thought that with the force he had brought with him Alkimus would be able to subdue his enemies, for he returned after a short time to Antioch. Things turned out differently, however; brief as the account of the bitter struggle between the two parties among the Jews is (1 Macc. vii. 21-5), it is clear that Judas was getting the better of it; so that Alkimus had once more to appeal to the king. This time the 'elephantarch' Nicanor was sent, a man who, it was thought, would make short work of it, as he hated the Jews (1 Macc. vii. 26). His attempt to follow the methods of Alkimus failed.¹ A preliminary fight took place at Capharsalama, the site of which is not known for certain; this was followed shortly afterwards by a more serious battle at Adasa, north-east of Beth-horon; a victory was won by Judas, and Nicanor was killed. The importance of this victory, as the sequel was to show, was not great; but it was overrated by the Jews, by whom an annual feast was inaugurated in memory of it: 'and they ordained to keep this day year by year, the thirteenth day of Adar' (March 160 B.C.). A month later, however (i.e. in April), a new force appeared in Palestine with Bacchides again at the head of it. This time the Syrian army was more formidable; so much so that when the followers of Judas saw the numbers of the enemy, the majority of them lost heart and 'slipped away'. Judas was left with eight hundred men. They sought to dissuade him from attempting the impossible; but he replied: 'Let it not be so that I should do this thing, to flee from them; and if our time is come, let us die manfully for our brethren's sake, and not leave a cause of reproach against our glory' (1 Macc. ix. 10). It was, of course, madness; yet one cannot withhold one's admiration from the hero who preferred death to surrender to the enemies of his country. The battle took place at Elasa;² the Jews, in spite of their small numbers, fought gallantly, but before long they were overwhelmed, and Judas was among the fallen (1 Macc. ix. 11-22).

With the death of Judas it must have been clear to the nationalistic Jews that the hope of an independent Jewish State was doomed. There was no possibility of coping with the Syrians as soon as they put forth their strength seriously. Judas had gained religious freedom for his people; and the Syrian king was

¹ 1 Macc. vii. 27-30.

² The site of this place is unknown.

wise enough to continue a tolerant policy in this respect. This, therefore, was a permanent gain.

That Judas never occupied the High-priestly office may be regarded as certain; it is true that Josephus says definitely that 'when he had retained the High-priesthood three years, he died';¹ but he contradicts himself by saying elsewhere that when Alkimus had been High-priest for three years he died, 'and there was no one that succeeded him, so that the city continued seven years without a High-priest', and that then Jonathan was appointed High-priest, holding the office for seven years.² But more important than this contradictory evidence of Josephus is the fact that in neither of the books of the *Maccabees* is there any hint that Judas was ever High-priest; when it is remembered how highly Judas was held in the estimation of the writers of these two books it is impossible to believe that they would have refrained from mentioning the High-priesthood of Judas if he had ever occupied the office.

If it be asked why, after the death of Alkimus,³ Judas did not become High-priest, the answer would be that, in any case, he would not have accepted it at the hands of the Syrian king, even supposing it had been offered; on the other hand, the Jewish people, whose champion he was, would not have elected to the High-priesthood one who wielded the sword.⁴ But the real fact is that Judas died before Alkimus did, as is clear from 1 Macc. ix. 18, 19 and 54-6; not that Alkimus being High-priest would necessarily have prevented the people from electing Judas, had they wished to, for Alkimus had been appointed by the Syrian king, which made the appointment invalid in the eyes of the orthodox; moreover, Alkimus had proved himself utterly unworthy. But, for the reason given, the people would not have had Judas for their High-priest. Why his brother Simon was, later, made High-priest will be explained below.

¹ *Antiq.* xii. 434; so, too, in xii. 419.

² *Ibid.*, xx. 237, 238.

³ On the death of Alkimus, referred to in Zech. xi. 17, see Additional Note F.

⁴ On this see further, Aptowitzer, *Parteilpolitik der Hasmonäerzeit* . . ., pp. 8-12 (1927).

Additional Note E

ZECHARIAH ix. 13-17 and ix. 9-12

1. *Zech. ix. 13-17.* The propitious beginning of the Maccabaeen revolt must have aroused great enthusiasm and confidence among the followers of Judas, especially as they felt convinced, in their religious fervour, that they were fighting with divine approval and under divine guidance. There are good grounds for the belief that the fragment *Zech. ix. 13-17* was written at this time by an enthusiast fired with a burning zeal for the religion of his forefathers and moved by fiery indignation against the tyrannical attempt to stamp it out. Opinions differ, of course, regarding the time and authorship of this piece; but read in the light of what we believe to be the contemporary history it becomes full of meaning. In verse 13 it is said, the patriot speaking in the name of his God: 'I will stir up thy sons, O Zion, against the sons of Greece';¹ it is difficult to see to what period of Jewish history this can refer other than to the beginning of the Maccabaeen struggle; with the *nation* of the Greeks the Jews never fought, so far as our knowledge goes, but the Syrians are appropriately spoken of as 'Greeks' both because the Seleucid dominions had originally formed the eastern parts of Alexander's empire, and because the Syrians were ardently Hellenistic. 'I will stir up' or 'I am stirring up' cannot refer to the past. We have seen that in the year 166-165 B.C. the aged head of the Hasmonaeen house, Mattathias, died; shortly before his death he is reported as saying to his followers: 'Judas Maccabaeus, he hath been strong and mighty from his youth; he shall be your captain and shall fight the battle of the people. And take ye unto you all the doers of the law, and avenge the wrong of your people; render a recompense to the Gentiles, and take heed to the commandments of the law'.² Then follows the account of the warlike zeal of the followers of Judas, and of the enthusiasm he aroused. The struggle, as we have just seen, began with a victory for Judas; he slew Apollonius the Syrian leader, and 'took the sword of Apollonius, and therewith he fought all his days'. It is in the light of this that we must read the words: 'I have bent for me Judah as a bow, I have filled it with Ephraim [i.e. Judah is the bow, Ephraim the arrow]; I will stir up thy sons, O Zion, against the sons of Greece, and I will make thee as the sword of a mighty man',³ perhaps an allusion to the sword captured by Judas. Then follows an account of the victory, just as in 1 Macc. iii. 10-12; and it is all ascribed to the action of God, again just as in

¹ Reading with the Septuagint and Syriac עַל-בְּנֵי for עַל-בְּנֵי; and in any case the double address in the Massoretic text is very unusual. For בְּנֵי the Septuagint has Ἑλληνες; cp. Dan. viii. 21.

² 1 Macc. ii. 66-8.

³ *Zech. ix. 13.*

1 Maccabees in the passage already referred to: 'Victory in battle standeth not in the multitude of a host; but strength is from heaven . . . he himself (i.e. God) will discomfit them before our face';¹ with these last words must be read Zech. ix. 14: 'And Yahweh shall be seen over them, and his arrow shall go forth as the lightning; and the Lord God shall blow the trumpet, and shall go with the whirlwinds of the south'. In the next verse it continues: 'Yahweh Zebaoth shall defend them, and they shall prevail,² and shall tread down the slingers;³ and they shall drink their blood⁴ like wine, and they shall be filled like the bowls⁵—like the horns of the altar.' The significance of the last sentence is realized when one thinks of the picture in the mind's eye of the writer, viz. the splashes of the blood of the sacrifices flung on to the altar; the 'corners of the altar' were drenched with sacrificial blood as part of the ritual.⁶ The words express the blood-thirsty feelings of bitterness experienced by one suffering under religious persecution.

In view of Judas' victory the writer of *1 Maccabees*, with pardonable exaggeration, says that 'the fear of Judas and his brethren, and the dread of them began to fall upon the nations round about them; and his name came near even unto the king, and every nation told of the battles of Judas'.⁷

2. *Zech. ix. 9-12*. There are reasons, as will be shown, for believing that another fragment of the book of Zechariah was written at this time. One of the most beautiful passages in the Old Testament, it will be generally admitted, is Zech. ix. 9-12. This tells of the near approach of the Messianic kingdom; but the Messiah is conceived of as one very different from the figure of traditional expectation: 'Behold, thy king will come unto thee; just is he and victorious, lowly, and riding upon an ass, even a she-ass' colt'. War is to cease, there is to be peace among all the nations; the Messianic dominion is to be world-wide; and all the Jews of the Dispersion will be returning to the homeland.

Two points here will be clear; it is an idealistic picture; and it must have been written during a period of peace. The difficulty of assigning a date to this beautiful little trimeter poem⁸ is fully

¹ *1 Macc.* iii. 18-22.

² Reading וַיִּכְלֹ (cp. Sept.) for וַיִּכְלֹ.

³ Reading קָלַעַ אֲבָנִי for קָלַעַ אֲבָנִי (Wellhausen).

⁴ Following the Sept. τὸ αἷμα αὐτῶν, the Hebrew text as it stands is meaningless.

⁵ Always used in connexion with the sacrificial worship; Am. vi. 6 is the one exception.

⁶ It may well be that the writer was thinking of the ceremony of offering the blood of the Passover lambs, when two rows of priests received the blood in gold and silver bowls and passed them up to the priests officiating at the great altar in the court of the priests; as each bowl was received the blood was dashed over the altar (*Mishna, Pesachim*, v. 5, 6).

⁷ *1 Macc.* iii. 25, 26.

⁸ Excepting verse 12 which has 2 + 2 + 2 + 2.

realized, but we venture to suggest a particular year during which it would have been very appropriate.

We have seen that in the summer of the year 164 B.C. Judas Maccabaeus gained a signal victory over the Syrian troops, and owing to complications in the eastern part of the Seleucid dominions there was for about a year, or rather more, no further movement of the Syrians against the Jews. But we are concerned with the year 164 B.C. Judas' victory in the summer of this year was a definite turning-point in the struggle of the Maccabaeans, for by it the original great object of the revolt was achieved, viz. religious freedom. During the peaceful months which followed preparations were made, by cleansing the desecrated Temple from the pollution perpetrated by Antiochus Epiphanes,¹ for the great ceremony of its rededication. This took place in December 164 B.C. The deep impression which this great event made upon the Jews is clearly seen in 1 Macc. iv. 36-59, as well as by the fact—already pointed out—that an annual festival was instituted in memory of it. As we have said, the enemy had been vanquished by the help of God (verse 55), and had withdrawn; peace had been secured; religious freedom gained; worship restored; and a bright future seemed to have dawned. These were things well calculated to call forth Messianic hopes; the cleansing and rededication of the Temple may well have been looked upon as the completion of a necessary condition of the Messiah's advent, just as Haggai, in earlier days, had insisted on the need of completing the rebuilding of the Temple in preparation for the coming of the Messiah (Hag. ii. 7-9). It is, therefore, not unreasonable to suppose that among the pious *Chasidim* with their belief in the theocracy, and among the idealistic Apocalyptists with their visions of the coming of a Messianic ruler, what had happened should have seemed to herald the fulfilment of their hopes. We, therefore, hazard the suggestion that one of these wrote that superb little poem (Zech. ix. 9-12) on this occasion. It is necessary to quote it in full in order to realize the significant points (there are one or two small but necessary textual emendations):

'Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion,
Behold, thy king will come unto thee,
Lowly, and riding upon an ass,
He will cut off the chariot from Ephraim
And the battle bow will he cut off,
And his rule shall be from sea to sea,

Shout, O daughter of Jerusalem;
Just is he and victorious;
Even a she-ass' colt.
And the horse from Jerusalem;²
And he will speak peace to the Gentiles;
And from the River to the ends of the
earth.

¹ Desecrated, it will be remembered, three years previously (Dec. 167 B.C.), when Antiochus Epiphanes caused an image of the Olympian Zeus to be placed on the altar, '*The desolating Abomination*'.

² There will be no attack upon Ephraim and Jerusalem by chariot or horsemen.

Also, O thou (Zion), because of thy covenant blood	I will set free the captives from the pit. ¹
Return to the stronghold, ² ye prisoners of hope:	Even to-day do I declare it: double will I return to thee. ³

In presenting the Messiah as lowly and unassuming the writer may well have been influenced by Micah; just as that prophet believed that the Messiah would come forth from among the humble folk of the little countryside township of Bethlehem, so this seer, an Apocalypticist among the *Chasidim*, held that the Messiah would be one of the humble-minded 'pious' of his own order. That was an exceptional idea of the Messiah, but it only placed in greater relief the world-wide extent of what his dominion was to be. The idea of the Messiah's conquest of the world by spiritual power had been familiar since Zechariah's time ('Not by an army, nor by power, but by my spirit, saith Yahweh Zebaoth', Zech. iv. 6), and it appears in the apocalyptic literature of the second century B.C., though it is not the normal conception of the Messiah.

Whether this suggestion regarding the origin, date, and authorship of Zech. ix. 9-12 be accepted or not, there is no doubt that it reflects the religious point of view of some sections of the Jewish people during the second century B.C.; and it is certainly an interesting fact that an exact analogy to it, in essence, occurs in that portion of the book of *Enoch* which, by common consent, belongs almost to the very year in which, according to the present contention, Zech. ix. 9-12 was written. This is of sufficient interest and importance to merit quotation. It is in 1 Enoch xc. 28-38 that, in allegorical form, Messianic ideas identical with those of Zech. ix. 9-12 are found. It is there said:⁴ '... And I saw till the Lord of the sheep (i.e. the congregation of Israel) brought a new house greater and loftier than that first... and all the sheep were within it.' This refers to the new Jerusalem, but in view of the acknowledged date of the passage it cannot be doubted that the rededicated Temple was also in the mind of the writer.⁵ The bringing-in of the Gentiles and the dispersed of Israel is then spoken of: 'And I saw all the sheep that had been left, and all the beasts on the earth, and all the birds of the

¹ The expression is used of the Dispersion; the addition 'wherein is no water' is pointless and overloads the metrical form; perhaps some copyist was thinking of Gen. xxxvii. 24 ('and they took him, and cast him into the pit; and the pit was empty, there was no water in it'), and added a marginal note, which was later incorporated in the text.

² The homeland, strong under the protection of Yahweh.

³ A loose quotation of Isa. lxi. 7, 'Therefore in their land they shall possess double.'

⁴ Charles's translation, *The Book of Enoch*, pp. 214-17 (1912).

⁵ This is apparently (by implication) also Charles's view since he refers to Hag. ii. 7-9 (*op. cit.*, p. 214).

heaven, falling down and doing homage to those sheep. . . . And those sheep were all white and their wool was abundant and clean. And all that had been destroyed and dispersed, and all the beasts of the field, and all the birds of heaven, assembled in that house; and the Lord of the sheep rejoiced with great joy because they were all good and returned to his house.' Then follows the end of warfare and lasting peace, always thought of as characteristic of the Messianic era: 'And I saw till they laid down the sword, which had been given to the sheep, and they brought it back into the house, and it was sealed before the presence of the Lord; and all the sheep were invited into that house, but it held them not.' Finally, the advent of the Messiah is proclaimed, and the homage of the Gentiles: 'And I saw that a white bull was born, with large horns, and all the beasts of the field and all the birds of the air feared him and made petition to him all the time.' But the most remarkable part of the passage is the last verse, where, in allegorical language, it is told how the Messiah becomes the lowliest among his people, and how the might of spiritual power is predominant: 'And I saw till all their generations were transformed, and they all became white bulls; and the first among them became a lamb; and that lamb became a great animal and had great black horns on its head. And the Lord of the sheep rejoiced over it and over all the oxen.'

In spite of the cryptic nature of this allegorical language one cannot fail to see that the Messianic elements of the passage are identical with those of Zech. ix. 9-12: the end of warfare, the reign of peace, the ingathering of Israel and the conversion of the Gentiles, and the lowliness of the Messiah, allegorized as the lamb, but his predominance through spiritual power. It can, of course, be urged that inasmuch as all these Messianic elements, with one exception, are common to apocalyptic generally, there is no significance in the identity of thought between the *Zechariah* and the *Enoch* passages. Nevertheless, the exception common to either, i.e. the lowly Messiah, must be allowed due weight. It must also be recognized that there is a difficulty in finding any other date to which this *Zechariah* passage can be appropriately assigned.

Chapter XVIII

THE MACCABAEAN REVOLT: THE LEADERSHIP OF JONATHAN (160/159-142/141 B.C.)

SUMMARY

[With the death of Judas and the dispersal of his followers the nationalist revolt was quelled for the time being. Bacchides ruled the country; he was supported by the High-priest Alkimus and the Hellenistic party among the Jews. He also took various measures of precaution, hoping thereby to prevent any further trouble. But the spirit of revolt was too strong among the nationalists to be curbed for long. Guerilla warfare broke out again, though for the present it was not of a serious character. The death of Alkimus occurred at this time; but no one was appointed in his place. Bacchides, under the impression that his work was accomplished, returned to Antioch. Two years elapsed during which the brothers of Judas, Jonathan and Simon, strengthened their position and gathered forces. The Hellenistic Jews, seeing this, sent for Bacchides. On his arrival, Bacchides soon found that under the new conditions the uncongenial task of subduing the stubborn rebels was beyond him; before returning home he came to a peaceful arrangement with Jonathan, who had undertaken the leadership of the Maccabaeans. During the next five years Judaea was left to itself, with the result that the nationalist Jews under Jonathan became masters, and the Hellenistic Jews lost all power in the land. Some details of the internal state among the Jews are probably to be discerned in Zech. x. 3-12, xi. 4-17, xiii. 7-9. By the end of this period complications in the Syrian empire, owing to a rival claimant to the throne in the person of Alexander Balas, had become so menacing that Demetrius the king found it advisable to make overtures to Jonathan, the most powerful personality in Palestine. Various concessions were made to him; but Demetrius' bid for Jonathan's friendship was capped by Alexander Balas, who appointed him to the High-priesthood and flattered him with further honours. For two years the struggle for the Syrian throne went on between Demetrius and Alexander Balas, but in 150 B.C. Demetrius fell in battle, and Balas became undisputed ruler. For the next three years Jonathan ruled in Palestine without interference. At the end of this time Demetrius' son, of the same name, appeared upon the scene to claim his father's throne. Jonathan supported Balas, in consequence of which Demetrius sent Apollonius the governor of Coele-Syria against the Jewish leader. In the battle which ensued Jonathan defeated Apollonius; he was rewarded for this by Balas with a gift of territory.

Further troubles in other parts of the Syrian empire once more

gave Jonathan a free hand; he now determined to throw off Syrian suzerainty altogether. But in the meantime Balas had lost his life and Demetrius II was undisputed king. The Hellenistic Jews, therefore, appealed to him to put down Jonathan; it was in vain; the king confirmed Jonathan in the High-priesthood, in addition to which, at Jonathan's request, Judaea was freed from all tribute and three toparchies were added to his dominions.

Soon after, troubles arose once more in the Seleucid empire; the infant son of Balas was put forward by Tryphon as a claimant to the throne. Jonathan supported Demetrius in return for further concessions, among which was the evacuation of the *Akra* by the Syrian garrison; this latter did not, however, take place yet.

For reasons about which there is some doubt Jonathan then transferred his allegiance to Tryphon and the young pretender. Demetrius' attempts to avenge himself on Jonathan proved unsuccessful. Jonathan's growing power now aroused the suspicions of Tryphon; the latter therefore led an army into Palestine; but on realizing the strength of Jonathan's forces he feigned friendship for him, and by an act of base treachery got him into his power and ultimately murdered him.

Jonathan was succeeded by his brother Simon.]

WITH the death of Judas and the dispersal of his followers the nationalist cause came to an end, for the time being. Alkimus still occupied the High-priesthood, and Bacchides, supported by the Hellenistic Jews, ruled the country; the Syrian garrison continued to occupy the *Akra*. Bacchides did not intend to give the revolted any chance of reassembling and causing further trouble; so he divided the land into districts over which he placed men of his own choosing (1 Macc. ix. 25); on these devolved the task of seeking out the disaffected and bringing them to the governor, who 'took vengeance on them and used them despitefully'. As a further precaution Bacchides fortified a number of places in which he stationed garrisons (1 Macc. ix. 50-3).

That in spite of all this the nationalists were not subdued shows their tenacity of purpose. Very soon after the death of Judas his friends, we are told, 'were gathered together, and they said unto Jonathan, Since thy brother Judas hath died, we have no man like him to go forth against our enemies and Bacchides, and among them of our nation that hate us. Now, therefore, we have chosen thee this day to be our prince and leader in his stead, that thou mayest fight our battles. And

Jonathan took the governance upon him at that time, and rose up in the stead of his brother Judas' (1 Macc. ix. 28-31). It will be noted that in this popular election of Jonathan as 'prince and leader' no mention is made of the High-priesthood; this was not because Alkimus was High-priest; the reason why the people did not elect Jonathan to the High-priesthood was the same as it had been in the case of Judas; one who was to 'fight the battles' of his people was unfitted for the spiritual office.

But under Bacchides' firm rule little opportunity was offered for anything other than guerilla warfare; the wilder districts in the hilly country were the only places to afford the people shelter from the pursuit of their enemies, and even there they were sought out.¹ It was at this early stage of Jonathan's leadership that another of the Maccabaeans, John, met his death; he had been sent to the friendly Nabataeans, with what movable possessions the fugitives could still call their own, for the purpose of leaving these in the care of their friends; but John and his party were waylaid by a band of 'the sons of Jambri' on the east of the Jordan and robbed of all they had; John himself they put to death. Jonathan and Simon speedily avenged their brother; but in doing so they were suddenly confronted by Bacchides with a contingent of soldiers; it was only with difficulty that Jonathan and his followers were able to escape by swimming across the Jordan.²

At this time, still within a year of the battle of Elasa, Alkimus, we are told, 'commanded to pull down the wall of the inner court of the sanctuary', by which is probably meant the wall which separated the court of the Gentiles from the inner court; as this gave the Gentiles access to the sanctuary it naturally aroused the indignation of the orthodox Jews; and the death of Alkimus very shortly after this (May 159 B.C.) was interpreted by them as a divine punishment for his act.³

Nobody was appointed in the place of Alkimus to the High-priesthood; Josephus says, as we have seen, that it remained vacant for seven years.⁴ It is difficult to understand why Bacchides did not see to it that a successor was appointed to act as a foil to Jonathan. Instead of doing so he returned to

¹ See 1 Macc. ix. 32-4; Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 1-6.

² See 1 Macc. ix. 35-49; Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 7-12.

³ Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 413, says 'he was smitten suddenly by God, and fell down'. See further, on Alkimus, Additional Note F.

⁴ *Antiq.* xx. 327.

the king (Demetrius I, Soter, 162-150 B.C.), thinking, no doubt, that his task of pacifying the country was done. For two years, then, it is said, 'the land of Judah had rest'. But it is clear from the sequel that those two years were utilized by Jonathan and Simon for strengthening their position and gathering adherents; for the Hellenistic Jews found that the nationalists were so increasing their strength that Bacchides had to be sent for again.¹

Bacchides, therefore, returned with a considerable force. He soon found, however, that his old enemies had now become so strong that his task was greater than he cared to undertake. His anger vented itself upon those through whom he had been placed in this difficult position,² and he determined to wash his hands of the whole business; but he took the precaution of establishing a number of fortified posts in the land.³ Jonathan, hearing that Bacchides was about to return home, took the wise step of making peace with him. In consequence we read that 'the sword ceased in Israel. And Jonathan dwelt at Michmash; and Jonathan began to judge the people; and he destroyed the ungodly out of Israel.'⁴ Thus, although in Jerusalem itself the Hellenistic pro-Syrian party were nominal rulers, in the rest of Judaea it was Jonathan, the leader of the Hasmonaeans, who was now the actual ruler.

For the next five years neither *1 Maccabees* nor Josephus gives us any information; but it is easy enough to see from the sequel that during these years the state of affairs in Judaea had entirely changed; without the support of the Syrian authorities the Hellenistic Jews were quite unable to assert themselves in the country; more and more the bulk of the people rallied around the nationalist leader. Even if it had been the wish of Demetrius to help the pro-Syrian party in Judaea, which may be doubted since he must have been informed of their dwindling power, the difficulty of his position would have prevented this. For Demetrius had made enemies of the kings of Pergamon, Cappadocia, and Egypt; and, most serious of all, in Syria itself a claimant to the throne again appeared.⁵

When, in *1 Macc.* x. 1, 2, the curtain is raised, we read that 'Alexander Epiphanes, the son of Antiochus, went up and took

¹ *1 Macc.* ix. 58.

² *Ibid.*, 69.

³ *Ibid.*, 50-3.

⁴ See *Ibid.*, 73; *Antiq.* xiii. 34.

⁵ For details of all these troubles in the Seleucid empire see Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, ii. 204-11.

possession of Ptolemaïs; and they received him, and he reigned there. And king Demetrius heard thereof, and he gathered together exceeding great forces, and went forth to meet him in battle'. The event thus abruptly introduced was the climax of what had been going on for some years previously;

'all the neighbour powers and Rome desired to see some one contemptible on the Syrian throne. And the king of Pergamum (Attalus II) ingeniously produced the contemptible person required—a youth called Balas whom he had discovered in Smyrna, and who showed a remarkable resemblance to Antiochus Epiphanes. Attalus declared that he was in fact a son of the late king. He was given the name of Alexander and already some time between 158 and 153 B.C. Attalus placed the young man close to the Syrian frontier in Cilicia as a threat to Demetrius. Heracleides, the finance minister of Antiochus Epiphanes, now a refugee in Asia Minor, took Alexander to Rome. Heracleides . . . was experienced in the way to bribe Roman senators. The Senate, as desirous as Attalus to see a weakling on the Syrian throne, actually in the winter 153–152 B.C. gave Alexander recognition. Before the summer of 152 B.C. was out Alexander had got a footing in Ptolemaïs, where he had Ptolemy (Philometor, king of Egypt) in support close at hand, and could threaten Demetrius from the troublous region of Palestine.'¹

The position of Demetrius was, therefore, a precarious one, naturally enough; the nationalist Jews had never looked on him with favour; so that if they were now to support Alexander Balas against him, the outlook would be more serious than ever. Thus it came about that he was practically forced to make overtures to Jonathan as the most powerful person in Palestine. Jonathan, therefore, received authority to gather forces in order to support Demetrius; the Jewish hostages who had been kept in the citadel in Jerusalem were ordered to be released.²

Jonathan now took formal possession of Jerusalem; he fortified the city and mount Zion; the various strongholds established by Bacchides were evacuated by the Syrian troops, the only

¹ Bevan, in the *Camb. Anc. Hist.* viii. 522 f. Elsewhere he says: 'Our Greek sources all speak of Alexander as an impostor, and this came to be the general opinion. Polybius evidently pronounced the business a fraud, and he was the main source from which later historians drew. As the line of Alexander came to a speedy end, the opinion maintained under the later Seleucids, descendants of Demetrius, was naturally adverse to Alexander. On the whole, it seems to me probable that Alexander was an impostor; but unless we have reason to believe that later on some one concerned in the deception (e.g. Attalus or Ptolemy Philometor) made an avowal, I do not see that we can speak positively' (*House of Seleucus*, ii. 300 f.).

² 1 Macc. x. 3–6; *Antiq.* xiii. 38.

exception being Bethsura, in which the Hellenizing Jews took refuge; in the *Akra*, however, according to Josephus¹ and 1 Macc. x. 7, cp. xi. 20, the Syrian garrison was still retained, though Jonathan's fortress on mount Zion acted as a foil to it.

This formal recognition of Jonathan is eloquent evidence of the straits in which Demetrius found himself, and of how much Jewish support was valued; but Demetrius had omitted one thing which he might easily have granted without detriment to himself, and Alexander Balas was quick to perceive this. On hearing what Demetrius had done, Alexander promptly outbid him by appointing Jonathan to the vacant High-priesthood, and flattering him by sending him 'a purple robe and a crown wreath of gold', and by further honouring him with the title of the king's 'Friend'.²

This was a clever stroke on Balas' part, for it answered entirely to Jonathan's ambition. It may be that at the time Jonathan did not realize that acceptance of this high office from such a contemptible usurper was derogatory to the office itself; and probably if he had it would have made no difference—the end was too important to him to care about the means, but in looking back one cannot fail to see that the whole transaction was rather sordid.

Jonathan was not behindhand in seizing this opportunity for aggrandizement; at the feast of Tabernacles in October of the same year, 152 B.C., he 'put on the holy garments', i.e. he officiated as High-priest. The naïve way in which military activity is coupled with the assumption of the spiritual office gives a melancholy insight into the degradation of religion which was already characteristic of the Hasmonaean leaders; after it is said that he put on the holy garments, it immediately continues: 'and he gathered together the forces, and provided arms in abundance', an eloquent commentary on the words of the psalmist: 'Let the high praises of God be in their mouth, and a two-edged sword in their hand' (Ps. cxlix. 6), written during this period. It must, however, be noted that the *Jewish people*, i.e. the orthodox party who formed the bulk, did not elect Jonathan to the High-priesthood, though they acquiesced in his appointment by the king; had they had any say in the matter it is certain that they would not have elected to the High-priesthood one who wielded the sword; in their eyes to hold

¹ *Antiq.* xiii. 45.

² 1 Macc. x. 15-17.

the spiritual and military offices jointly was incompatible. It is highly probable that the beginning of the rift between the people and the Hasmonaean High-priests, which later became a veritable chasm, was already beginning to show itself.

According to 1 Macc. x. 22-45 (cp. *Antiq.* xiii. 47 ff.) Demetrius tried once more to win Jonathan over to his side by still further out-bidding Balas, but the offer and concessions are of such an exaggerated character that it is difficult to accept the document in which they occur as genuine. At any rate, Jonathan did not take them seriously. Then for two years the struggle for the Syrian throne went on; the final battle (in 150 B.C.), which took place between the armies of Demetrius and Alexander, seems to have been a desperate one;¹ in the end Demetrius was slain, and Alexander became undisputed king of Syria and Babylonia.

The relations between Alexander and Jonathan then became very friendly; at the royal marriage between Alexander and Cleopatra Thea, the daughter of Ptolemy Philometor, which took place in Ptolemaïs in the same year, Jonathan was present and was loaded with honours (1 Macc. x. 59-66).

During the next few years Jonathan ruled his people without interference; the Hellenistic Jews were now entirely silenced. Alexander was far too much occupied in the enjoyment of a voluptuous life to care much about anything else. But in 147 B.C. the son of Demetrius I, whose name also was Demetrius,² the rightful heir to the throne, appeared in Syria with an army for the purpose of driving out Alexander. With the exception of Jonathan, all Alexander's supporters fell away from him; among these was the governor of Coele-Syria, Apollonius, who now went over to Demetrius, and was reappointed to the governorship. Upon Apollonius, therefore, devolved the task of dealing with Jonathan, who, as the friend of Alexander, was the enemy of Demetrius. The spirited account of the fighting between the two given in 1 Macc. x. 74-89³ reads convincingly; Jonathan first drove the garrison from Joppa, then he defeated the army of Apollonius in the plain near Azotus (Ashdod), destroyed this city, and burned the temple of Dagon there together with

¹ *Antiq.* xiii. 59-61.

² He was only about fourteen years old; his army was led by Lasthenes, a Cretan; cp. 1 Macc. x. 67.

³ Josephus (*Antiq.* xiii. 86-90) erroneously represents Apollonius as fighting on behalf of Alexander, against Jonathan!

all those who had fled into it for refuge; finally, he returned to Jerusalem, 'having many spoils'. As a reward for this support Alexander gave Jonathan Ekron and the surrounding district.

It was probably in this same year, 147 B.C., that Ptolemy Philometor appeared in Syria; he was met on his way thither by Jonathan at Joppa, and friendly salutations were exchanged. Doubtless he would have liked to annex Coele-Syria once more to the Ptolemaic empire; indeed, in 1 Macc. xi. 13 it is said that 'he put two diadems upon his head, the diadem of Egypt and the diadem of Asia'. Josephus¹ says he was forced to do this by the people of Antioch; but this would have been only a temporary concession to the popular wish, for he was too wise to run the risk of falling out with Rome; as Josephus says of him, 'being also a wise man in reasoning about the future, he determined to avoid the envy of the Romans; so he called the people of Antioch together to an assembly, and persuaded them to receive Demetrius.' The reason why Ptolemy threw over his son-in-law Alexander is not quite clear; but it may well have been because he felt that it would be easier to keep a hold on Coele-Syria, without actually appearing to do so, if a boy was on the Syrian throne rather than the contemptible Alexander. The fact that he took his daughter Cleopatra away from Alexander and gave her to Demetrius to wife would support this.

On Ptolemy's first appearance Alexander had fled to Cilicia; but he returned later (in 145 B.C.), intending to fight for his kingdom. The combined forces of Ptolemy and Demetrius met him by the river Oenoparas;² Alexander was defeated and sought refuge among some Arabs, but he was decapitated by Zabdiel the Arabian, who sent his head to Ptolemy (1 Macc. xi. 17); the third day after receiving it, Ptolemy, who had been wounded in the battle, died.

Jonathan now determined to get rid of the last remaining vestige of Syrian suzerainty in Palestine. The Syrian garrison had during these years still continued to hold the *Akra* in Jerusalem. Jonathan, therefore, besieged Jerusalem. As on more than one previous occasion, the anti-national, Hellenistic party among the Jews sent word to the Syrian king, who regarded Jonathan's procedure as a revolutionary act. He cited Jonathan to Ptolemais to explain his conduct; though not

¹ *Antiq.* xiii. 111, 112.

² One of the streams discharging itself into the lake of Antioch (Bevan).

desisting from the siege, Jonathan went, and in spite of intrigues on the part of his hostile countrymen, gained the confidence of Demetrius II, who confirmed him in the High-priesthood. The position which Jonathan had by this time gained for himself is seen by the request which he made to the king. Judaea was to be free from all tribute, and there were to be added to it the three districts (toparchies) of Samaria, i.e. those of Ephraim, Lydda, and Ramathaim, these were likewise to be free from tribute; all that Jonathan himself offered was three hundred talents.¹ Everything was at once conceded; no doubt Demetrius knew he dared not refuse. Nothing is said about the Syrian garrison which was being besieged in Jerusalem; the probability is that, for the present, Jonathan thought it as well not to press this question of the presence of Syrian soldiers in Jerusalem, and left them in peace. Nothing could illustrate better the weakened condition of the Seleucid empire; and within the next two years a further sign of this showed itself. For in the meantime troubles had arisen in the Syrian empire owing to the infant son of Alexander Balas, Antiochus, being put forth by a military adventurer named Diodotus, who took the name of Tryphon, as a claimant to the throne.² Through the desertion of many of Demetrius' troops his position became serious; and this was aggravated by Tryphon's occupation of Antioch, whereby a large portion of the kingdom came under his influence. In this strait Demetrius looked to Jonathan for support. This Jonathan was prepared to give, but upon conditions; he stipulated that the Syrian garrison should evacuate the *Akra* and that various other strongholds should be delivered up to him. Demetrius was not in a position to refuse anything; Jonathan therefore dispatched three thousand men, by whose help Demetrius was, for the time being, able to save the situation.³ But according to 1 Macc. xi. 53 and Josephus,⁴ Demetrius, as soon as he found himself safe, broke faith with Jonathan. Whether this was actually the case, or whether Jonathan, seeing there was an opportunity for still further bettering his position by going over to Tryphon and the young pretender, must remain uncertain. At any rate, he transferred his allegiance, with the result that his brother Simon was made captain (*stratēgos*) 'from the Ladder of Tyre unto the borders of

¹ 1 Macc. xi. 20-8; *Antiq.* xiii. 125.

² 1 Macc. xi. 39, 40; *Antiq.* xiii. 131 f.

³ 1 Macc. xi. 41-52; *Antiq.* xiii. 133 f.

⁴ *Antiq.* xiii. 143.

Egypt',¹ i.e. over the whole of Coele-Syria, with the exception of Phoenicia.

Demetrius could not regard all this with indifference; accordingly, he made an attempt to punish Jonathan by sending an army against him; it came to battle in the plain of Hazor, in the north of Palestine. At first Jonathan's forces got the worst of it; but in the end he routed the enemy.²

The renewed alliance which Jonathan now made with Rome³ may well have been a precautionary measure in view of further operations which he was about to undertake, and which might otherwise have aroused suspicion in Rome.

In the meantime, Demetrius contemplated a further attempt to punish Jonathan; but the latter, having heard of this, took the initiative and went to meet the Syrian army into the 'country of Hamath', i.e. north of the Lebanon range; Demetrius, however, took fright and retreated during the night. Jonathan pursued him, but was unable to overtake him.⁴ At the same time Jonathan's brother, Simon, was strengthening the Jewish position in the south.⁵

Jonathan's success against Demetrius now began to inspire Tryphon with misgivings. He had no intention of permitting Judaea to become independent of Syria, especially as, according to 1 Macc. xii. 39, 40, cp. *Antiq.* xiii. 187, he himself aspired to the Syrian throne. Jonathan, on the other hand, was in no mind to give up what he had virtually won. Accordingly, Tryphon came down into Judaea with an army; both sides prepared for a battle in the neighbourhood of Bethshan (Skythopolis). However, on seeing the strength of Jonathan's forces, Tryphon thought it wiser not to risk a battle, but to gain his end by other means. He received Jonathan honourably, 'and commended him to all his Friends, and gave him gifts, and commanded his forces to be obedient unto him, as unto himself'. He then invited Jonathan to come with him to Ptolemaïs in order that he might make a present to him of this city. In spite of all his experience Jonathan fell into the trap. No sooner had he arrived in Ptolemaïs than the city gates were closed, all

¹ 1 Macc. xi. 59.

² 1 Macc. xi. 63-74; *Antiq.* xiii. 154-62.

³ The authenticity of the document containing the alleged treaty with the Spartans (1 Macc. xii. 5-15; *Antiq.* xiii. 166-70) is rightly regarded by most authorities with suspicion.

⁴ 1 Macc. xii. 24-30.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 33, 34, 38.

his followers were murdered, and he himself was kept a prisoner. Great though the consternation was in Judaea at the news of Jonathan's capture, the people no wise lost heart; the conduct of affairs was immediately taken over by Simon, his brother. He energetically set to work at once to make his leadership effective. The walls of Jerusalem were strengthened, and the city was more strongly fortified; one of his captains seized Joppa on the coast, thereby securing a *point d'appui* in the coastal district.

The expected advance of Tryphon soon took place; he brought with him his prisoner, Jonathan. He was met by Simon's army at Adida, a fortified spot on the road from Joppa to Jerusalem. Again Tryphon avoided a battle by sending word to Simon that he was only holding Jonathan prisoner because money was owed to the royal treasury. Simon sent the money lest his own people should otherwise say that he had missed the chance of releasing his brother; but he was under no apprehension regarding the character of Tryphon. Jonathan was not released in spite of the payment. Tryphon then attempted to advance upon Jerusalem; his object was to approach it from the south through Edom (Idumaea) thus avoiding the hilly country; but he was prevented from carrying out his purpose by a heavy snowstorm; he therefore retreated through the country of Gilead on the east of Jordan, taking Jonathan with him. At a place called Baskama (Josephus calls it Baska) Jonathan was murdered, no reason being given for the crime. Tryphon then returned to Syria.¹

Simon then gathered the bones of his brother Jonathan, and buried them in the family tomb at Modein. As a memorial to his father and brethren Simon built an elaborate monument over the sepulchre.

¹ 1 Macc. xiii. 22-4.

Additional Note F

ZECHARIAH x. 3-12, xi. 4-17, xiii. 7-9

THERE are some passages in the second half of the book of *Zechariah* which offer reflections on the part of a devout *Chasid*, on the internal conditions of Judaea at this time. The passages are Zech. x. 3-12, xi. 4-17, xiii. 7-9. We are not prepared to say what the precise dates of these passages are, but we submit that they were written at some time during the years following the death of Alkimus, though they do not all belong to precisely the same time. To go into much detail would be out of place here, but some points must be mentioned since they throw light both on the Jewish history of the times and on the religious outlook of the best type of Jew during the second century B.C.

The two outstanding subjects dealt with are the spiritual leaders, and the enmity among the Jewish people, and it is with these alone that we propose to deal.

Though it involves some repetition of what has already been said, a brief résumé of the history is demanded in order to show the general historical background of the passages in question.

One of the most disgraceful series of events in Jerusalem during the reign of Antiochus IV Epiphanes was the scramble for the High-priestly office. When Antiochus came to the throne in the summer of 175 B.C. Onias III was High-priest. His brother, Jason, by offering a considerable sum to the king, was appointed in his place.¹ The deposition of a High-priest and the instalment of another by a Gentile king deeply wounded the religious susceptibilities of the orthodox Jews; but the Hellenistic Jewish rulers in Jerusalem welcomed the king's action because Jason was a vigorous Hellenizer. Not long after, Menelaus, by offering a higher bribe, induced the king to depose Jason and appoint him (Menelaus) to the High-priesthood.² In this case the outrage was the greater because Menelaus was not even a member of the High-priestly family, as Jason was. But apart from that, the fact that the High-priest was the nominee of the Syrian king made him the leader of the pro-Syrian party whose head-quarters were at Jerusalem; and since the national party, forming the bulk of the masses, was scattered over the land, it is easy to understand that bitter antagonism arose between Jerusalem and the rest of Judaea. Actual fighting took place on various occasions in Jerusalem between the Hellenistic and the orthodox parties; and a very melancholy illustration of the relations between the Jerusalem Jews and their brethren, the nationalist Jews under Judas Maccabaeus, took place when in 161 B.C.

¹ 2 Macc. iv. 7, 8.

² Ibid., 23, 24.

the head of the pro-Syrian party, Alkimus¹—also thanks to bribery²—was nominated to the High-priesthood; in this year Judas, encouraged by his treaty with Rome, fought against Alkimus and his Syrian allies under Nicanor,³ and later under Bacchides;⁴ in the following spring (160 B.C.), when Judas was killed, Alkimus was again present with the Syrian army. Alkimus did not long enjoy his triumph, for he died in the next year of a paralytic stroke.

Stress needs to be laid on this element in the earlier part of the Maccabaeen struggle, for it is not always sufficiently realized, viz. that the antagonists were not only Jews against Syrians, but Jews against Jews. It took different forms, but it is true to say that during a considerable part of the second century B.C. 'Jerusalem versus Judaea' correctly describes Jewish internal affairs.

In the light of this brief historical résumé we turn to the Zechariah passages mentioned in order to observe the light they throw on the times. It will be seen that the two outstanding subjects dealt with are the High-priests ('shepherds'), and the enmity between Jerusalem and the rest of the Judaeans. The opening words of the first section (a poetical piece) speak of God's wrath against these shepherds: 'Mine anger is kindled against the shepherds, and I will punish the he-goats' (x. 3); the writer is clearly indebted for his figurative expressions to Jer. xxiii. 1 ff. and Ezek. xxxiv. 17; but he leaves the subject of the High-priests, for the present, to refer to the success of the Maccabaeans; it is suggested that the 'corner stone', 'the nail', and 'the battle-bow', refer respectively to Simon, Judas, and Jonathan⁵ (x. 4). In the words of verse 6, 'And I will strengthen the house of Judah and I will save the house of Joseph', the writer expresses his conviction that final victory and the return of all Israel from the Dispersion will soon take place. Tyre⁶ and Gebal, the great seaports, and Syria and Egypt shall all be done away with; in conformity with his love of figurative expressions he uses 'Assyria' for Syria, as in Isa. xxvii. 13; 'Egypt' is, of course, the Ptolemaic empire (verses 10, 11).

¹ His Jewish name was Jakim (*Antiq.* xii. 385, xx. 237; 1 Macc. vii. 5, &c., 2 Macc. xiv. 3, where several MSS. read 'Jakim').

² 2 Macc. xiv. 4.

³ 1 Macc. vii. 21 ff.

⁴ Ibid., ix. 1 ff.

⁵ Cp. 1 Macc. ii. 65, 66, where Simon is spoken of as 'a man of counsel' and as one who 'shall be a father unto you'; he might well be figuratively described as the 'corner-stone'. Of Judas it is said that he has been 'strong and mighty from his youth', i.e. one who can be relied upon (cp. 'nail' in Isa. xxii. 23). Jonathan is not mentioned, but his prowess in battle, spoken of in other passages of 1 Maccabees, would make 'battle-bow' an appropriate figure of speech if applied to him.

⁶ Reading צִרְה for צִרְה, and גִּבְלִים for גִּבְלִים; for the latter emendation the writer is indebted to Professor A. A. Bevan, in the *Journal of Philology*, vol. xviii, p. 88 (1889). Gebal = the Greek Byblus.

But more important is the section Zech. xi. 4-17. This is a remarkable and unique piece written in prose. It is not a prophecy, but a presentation, partly allegorical, of current history and of the recent past. The outlook is far from bright; a note of sadness, even of impatient bitterness (verse 9), is noticeable, and it is due to the depressing circumstances of the time. The 'shepherds' are spoken of as buyers and sellers of the flock (verse 5), a clear reference to the way in which the High-priesthood was obtained by bribery in the cases of Jason, Menelaus, and Alkimus; and when in the same verse it is said that these shepherds slay the flock, we know from the current history that this was literally true.¹ It would be difficult to point to any other period of Jewish history during which this could be said. In verse 8 it continues: 'And I will cut off the three shepherds in one month'; if 'in one month' was the original form of the text it was meant figuratively, 'within a short time'; the reference must, in any case, be to Jason, Menelaus, and Alkimus, who all came to an untimely end.² In verse 17 it is said: 'Woe to the worthless shepherd that leaveth the flock'; this is true of all three mentioned, but especially of Alkimus, and the writer was probably thinking both of his visits to Antioch,³ as well as his leaving the flock to fight against Judas. It continues: 'The sword (used figuratively for 'destruction') shall be against his arm and against his right eye; his arm shall be clean dried up, and his right eye shall be utterly darkened'; that is a fairly obvious description of a paralytic stroke. With this passage 1 Macc. ix. 55, 56 should be read: 'At that time was Alkimus stricken, and his works were hindered, and his mouth stopped, and he was taken with a palsy (*παρελύθη*) . . .'

The section xiii. 7-9, which is generally recognized as dislocated from its original context, stood, possibly, immediately before xi. 15. It deals again with the faithless shepherd, in all probability Alkimus; the priesthood is associated with him as destined to destruction. Alkimus is called 'my shepherd' because as High-priest he was a priest of God, however unworthy of his office he had shown himself. He is also called 'the man that is my fellow', lit. the man of my association, or who associates with me, i.e. who presides over divine service. 'The little ones', mentioned in the same verse, are the subordinates of the shepherd, i.e. the priests, who are his tools.

¹ See 2 Macc. iv. 39 ff.; the slaughter there mentioned was ultimately due to Menelaus; for Jason, see 2 Macc. v. 5, 6; for Alkimus, 1 Macc. vii. 21, 22.

² For Jason see 2 Macc. iv. 6-10; for Menelaus, 2 Macc. xiii. 3-8; for Alkimus, 1 Macc. ix. 55, 56. The periods of the High-priesthoods of Jason, Menelaus, and Alkimus was 14 years; this was, comparatively speaking, a short time, for the seven preceding High-priests ruled for 135 years, an average of not far short of 20 years each.

³ 1 Macc. vii. 4-6, 25.

The remainder of the passage is a prophecy of the ultimate triumph of the true Israelites, though they be but a remnant.

So much, then, for the shepherds. The other subject, the antagonism between Jerusalem and Judah, is dealt with in xi. 7-11. This is a difficult passage, both on account of the obscurity of its meaning, and also because there are some corruptions in the text. The prophet seems at one time to speak in the name of God, at another in his own name. But the main point in the present connexion centres in the 'two staves'. These are called 'Beauty' and 'Bands' in the Revised Version; more literally rendered one might say 'pleasantness' and 'union'; according to verse 14 these are used figuratively for Judah and Jerusalem;¹ both the staves are broken to indicate that the brotherhood between the Jerusalem Jews and those of the rest of Judaea is severed; this, as we have seen, was precisely the state of affairs during the time of the three High-priests mentioned. The words of verse 9 reflect the writer's feeling of angry impatience at such an unnatural condition between brethren. It is worth recalling here the words of Ps. lxxix. 10-13. This psalm is recognized by most scholars as belonging to the Maccabaeian period; verses 11, 12 run:

'Let the sighing of the prisoner come before thee,

According to the greatness of thy power (lit. arm) free² those condemned to death (lit. the sons of death);

And render unto our neighbours sevenfold into their bosom

Their reproach wherewith they have reproached thee, O Lord.'

The meaning of the words 'render unto our neighbours sevenfold . . .' (cp. also verse 4) would indeed be difficult to understand without realizing that the historical background witnesses to internecine warfare between the orthodox nationalists of Judaea and the Jewish-Hellenistic rulers with their following in Jerusalem.

The sections dealt with, therefore, are the reflections of one who stood aloof from the turmoil of the times, but who was impelled to record what he felt. The importance of taking note of these passages here is that they tell us of the existence of some who were truly religious and devout thinkers (the *Chasidim*, cp. Ps. lxxix. 2) during a period of which the history has so little to say about the religious element among the Jews.

¹ The text has 'Judah and Israel', but apart from the fact that under the circumstances of the times this would be meaningless, the Lucianic text reads 'Jerusalem' for 'Israel'.

² Reading הוֹתִיר for הוֹתִיר, 'leave over'.

Chapter XIX

THE MACCABAEAN REVOLT THE LEADERSHIP OF SIMON (142/1-135/4 B.C.).

SUMMARY

[Religious freedom, extension of territory, the ascendancy of their party, and the acquisition of the High-priesthood—all these had been gained by the time that Simon succeeded to the leadership of the Maccabaeans. Entire political freedom through the throwing off of the suzerainty of the Seleucids is what Jonathan would also doubtless have achieved had it not been for his treacherous murder. This task was undertaken by Simon.

There were still two claimants to the Syrian throne, Demetrius II and the child Antiochus VI, under the guardianship of Tryphon. Antiochus was murdered by Tryphon, who himself assumed the diadem. Simon held to Demetrius, and was rewarded by being granted full immunity from taxation; this was held by the Jews to imply their complete independence. At the same time Simon took precautions against an attack by Tryphon; one of his measures was to starve out the Syrian garrison in the *Akra*, whereby Jerusalem was at last rid of the enemy within its gates.

For some time now the Jews were left in peace, the two Syrian rulers having their hands full in combating one another. It was during this period of peace that the office of High-priest in the Hasmonaean family was officially recognized and legitimized by the Jewish people. The Hasmonaean High-priesthood thus became hereditary.

In 139 B.C. Demetrius was taken prisoner by the Parthians, and thereby Tryphon became sole ruler. But very soon Antiochus, the brother of Demetrius, appeared upon the scene and captured Tryphon, who thereupon committed suicide. Antiochus VII, Sidetes, as he was called, did not recognize the independence of the Jewish State, and demanded back from Simon all the territory outside Judaea which had been gained by the Maccabaeans. This was naturally refused by Simon. Judaea was therefore invaded by a Syrian army under Kendebeus. Simon, who was now getting old, deputed his two sons, Judas and John, to oppose Kendebeus; in the battle which followed the Syrian army was routed. As long as Simon was alive, i.e. for the next three years, Antiochus VII made no further attempt to assert his suzerainty. In 135 B.C. Simon was treacherously murdered by his son-in-law, Ptolemy, the son of Abubus. Simon's death, and the national mourning which followed, seem to be alluded to in Zech. xii. 10-14. He was succeeded in the High-priesthood by his son John, called Hyrcanus.]

EVEN under the leadership of Judas, whose primary aim was to gain religious freedom for his people, we have seen that, when this had been secured, something further was striven for; he had first the desire to extend the boundaries of the land, but he aimed also at predominance for himself and his party. He was cut off before his goal was reached. But Jonathan, by patience and indomitable perseverance, fully achieved what his brother had been in the process of accomplishing. With the suppression of the Hellenistic party, the ascendancy of his own, and himself in the office of High-priest, Jonathan had gained vastly more than was intended, or ever dreamt of, by the initiators of the revolt. But we have seen reason to believe that even this was not all that the Maccabaeans now coveted. The ideal of complete independence from Syrian suzerainty was what Jonathan believed to be possible of attainment; and the obvious fear which Tryphon had of meeting him in fair fight will have convinced Jonathan that the final achievement was within his grasp. Through his treacherous murder, however, this was left to his brother Simon to accomplish. It was in the year 142 B.C. that the leadership of Simon began.

There were still two rival kings in Syria: Demetrius II, and the boy Antiochus VI under the guardianship of Tryphon. In the same year (142/1 B.C.) Tryphon deposed Antiochus 'and reigned in his stead, and put on himself the diadem of Asia';¹ later, in 138 B.C., he murdered him.

Tryphon was the first king to assume the diadem who did not belong to the house of Seleucus; and he indicated a new era on his coins.² Simon naturally ignored him; but he addressed himself to Demetrius, whose reply, granting full immunity from taxes, was interpreted by the Jews as an acknowledgement of their independence; hence it is said in 1 Macc. xiii. 41, 42: 'In the hundred and seventieth year (i.e. 142 B.C.) was the yoke of the heathen taken away from Israel. And the people began to write in their instruments and contracts, in the first year of Simon the great High-priest and captain and leader of the Jews.'

At the same time, Simon fully recognized the need of taking precautions against a possible attack from Tryphon; the fact is, however, that this never took place; but Simon wisely consolidated his position by taking possession of Gazara (Gezer), an important fortified city which commanded the road from

¹ 1 Macc. xiii. 31, 32; *Antiq.* xiii. 218.

² Bevan, in *Camb. Anc. Hist.* viii. 527.

Jerusalem to Joppa; he placed his son John there as commander. He also built there, we are told (verse 28), a dwelling-place for himself; the remains of what is in all probability this dwelling-place were discovered by Mr. Stewart Macalister in excavating the site of ancient Gezer. In the ruins he found on a block of stone a *graffito* in cursive Greek which is of considerable interest in the present connexion; a few of the letters are illegible, but the general sense is clear; it runs: '(Says) Pampras, may fire follow after in the palace of Simon'. The inscription, as the discoverer of it points out, is 'an imprecation scratched on a building stone by one Pampras, and built into the structure for which the stone was intended, no doubt in the hope that it would prove effective in bringing down destruction of some sort upon it.'¹ Possibly it was the act of some Jewish-Hellenistic enemy of Simon.

Besides this, Simon was able at last to get rid of the Syrian garrison in the *Akra* by starving it out;² this last was the occasion of great rejoicing; 'he entered it . . . with praise and palm branches, and with harps, and with cymbals, and with viols, and with hymns and with songs; because a great enemy was destroyed out of Israel.'³ Two other places are mentioned as having been possessed by Simon: Joppa, which he 'made an entrance for the isles of the sea', and Bethsura.⁴

There followed now a period of rest for the Jews, as the Syrian rulers were fully occupied elsewhere. Demetrius went to the east in order to gather forces for prosecuting the war against Tryphon;⁵ of this latter we hear, for the present, nothing further.

During the period of peace for the Jews just referred to an important event took place which must be mentioned here. The High-priestly office was hereditary, as we have seen, in the house of Onias; the appointment of Jason, though he belonged to the High-priestly family, as brother of the reigning High-priest, was nevertheless rightly resented by the nationalist Jews because he had been appointed by a Gentile king, and because the legitimate High-priest was still living; it was a usurpation.

¹ *Pal. Expl. Fund, Quarterly Statement*, 1905, pp. 97 ff., 184.

² 1 Macc. xiii. 43-50; cp. *Antiq.* xiii. 215.

³ 1 Macc. xiii. 51.

⁴ *Ibid.*, xiv. 5-7.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1; *Antiq.* xiii. 184-6; this was, however, only an indirect reason; his primary object was to recover the eastern province of his empire which had been lost.

When, in place of Jason, the office was filled by Menelaus, the act was a still further outrage on Jewish religious sensibilities, because not only was he not a member of the High-priestly family, but apparently he did not even belong to a priestly family.¹ Still later, when Alkimus was appointed, although he belonged to a priestly family, it was still a usurpation for the same reasons that he did not belong to the High-priestly family and because he had been appointed by a Gentile ruler. Judas, as we have seen, never occupied the office. When, finally, Jonathan was appointed High-priest by Alexander Balas, there were still the objections that he had been appointed by the Gentile ruler and that he did not belong to the High-priestly family—though he did, at any rate, belong to a priestly family; nevertheless, this was acquiesced in by the orthodox party; but strictly speaking, and in a legal-religious sense, even Jonathan's assumption of the High-priesthood was a usurpation. And this applied, of course, to Simon when he succeeded to the dignity. It was, therefore, necessary that there should be a formal recognition, and legitimization, of the Hasmonaean family as that in which the hereditary High-priesthood was vested. This was done, then, in the third year of Simon's leadership (140 B.C.); the record tells of how the people said: 'What thanks shall we give to Simon and his sons? For he and his brethren and the house of his father have made themselves strong, and have chased away in fight the enemies of Israel from them, and confirmed liberty to Israel. And they wrote on tablets of brass, and set them upon pillars in mount Sion'; then follows a long account of the inscription, the salient points of which are these: 'The Jews and the priests were well pleased that Simon should be their leader and high-priest for ever, until there should arise a faithful prophet; and that he should be captain over them, and should take charge of the sanctuary, to set them over their works, and over the country, and over the arms, and over the strongholds . . . and that all instruments in the country should be written in his name . . .' It is then added: 'All the people consulted to ordain for Simon that he should do according to these words; and Simon accepted hereof, and consented to be High-priest, and to be captain and ethnarch of the Jews and the priests, and to be protector of all.'² Thus was founded a

¹ The evidence, as we have seen (p. 220, above), is conflicting.

² 1 Macc. xiv. 25-49.

new High-priestly and princely dynasty—that of the Hasmonaeans.¹

It must strike one as rather remarkable that, inasmuch as neither Judas nor Jonathan had been elected to the High-priesthood *by the people* because of the conscientious scruples of the latter against the sword and the spiritual power being wielded by the same hand, Simon should have been thus unanimously acclaimed and elected by them. The reason, however, no doubt was that after the seven years during which the incongruity had existed in the person of Jonathan, the people had become accustomed to the idea, especially since Simon, as will be seen, had greatly endeared himself to them. Nevertheless, as the subsequent history shows, it is certain that a great undercurrent of feeling against the Hasmonaean High-priesthood among a very considerable section of the anti-Hellenistic Jews, was already running at this time.

The account of Simon's embassy to Rome has been shown by Willrich to belong to the time of Hyrcanus;² but it is quite within the bounds of possibility that Simon did approach the Roman power with a view to remaining on good terms with it.

As already remarked, Demetrius II had gone to the east to reconquer the lands which had been lost; these had been taken from him by the Parthians under Mithridates I in 141 B.C. In 139 B.C. Demetrius was taken prisoner by Mithridates, but well treated. Tryphon was, therefore, king of Syria without a rival.³ This was but momentary. As soon as Demetrius' brother, Antiochus, heard of what had happened he at once appeared upon the scene to claim the throne and to oust Tryphon. This was very quickly accomplished; Tryphon was captured and compelled to commit suicide (138 B.C.). Antiochus VII Sidetes was thus sole king.⁴ But this is anticipating; prior to this Antiochus had approached Simon in order to gain his support against Tryphon. It is evident from what is recorded in 1 Macc. xv. 2-9 that Antiochus did not regard Judaea as an independent state. Simon, nevertheless, thought it well to remain on good terms with him, and sent a force to support him against Tryphon,

¹ The name of the ancestor of the Maccabaeian family was Asmonaeus (see Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 265; it does not occur in 1, 2 *Maccabees*); the Hebrew form is Hashmon (hard H), hence the spelling above.

² *Urkundenfälschung*, pp. 58-69.

³ On his coins he calls himself *Basileus Autocrator* (*Camb. Anc. Hist.*, Plates, iii. 14 [1930]).

⁴ 1 Macc. xv. 10-14, 25, 37, 39; *Antiq.* xiii. 223 f.

together with a money payment and materials of war. But Antiochus, having got the better of Tryphon, refused all further help from Simon, and demanded the surrender of Joppa, Gazara, the *Akra* in Jerusalem, all the other fortified cities, and whatever places had been conquered outside Judaea.¹ An officer named Athenobius was sent to Jerusalem to receive Simon's surrender. In making these demands Antiochus was within his rights, for, however much the Maccabaeans may have arrogated autonomy to themselves, independence had never been conceded by the Syrian kings. Simon, however, had no intention of surrendering what had been gained; his reply to the king's officer was justified from the Jewish, but obviously not from the Syrian, point of view: 'We have neither taken other men's land, nor have we possession of that which appertaineth to others, but of the inheritance of our fathers; howbeit, it was had in possession of our enemies wrongfully for a certain time. But we, having opportunity, hold fast the inheritance of our fathers. But as touching Joppa and Gazara, which thou demandest, they did great harm among the people throughout our country; we will give a hundred talents for them.'² The Jewish point of view comes out clearly here, and it was doubtless one that had increasingly impressed itself upon the Maccabaeans leaders. The 'promised land' was theirs by divine right, as they held; the Gentiles might come and deprive them of their inheritance; but that was no reason why the Jews should not seek to recover their own if and when opportunity offered. It is only fair that this point of view should be remembered when the war-like zeal of the Maccabaeans seems sometimes to have displaced all thought but that of aggrandizement. Such an attitude could, of course, make no appeal to the Syrians; naturally enough, therefore, we read that Athenobius 'returned in a rage to the king' and that the king was 'exceedingly wroth'.

While Antiochus, then, went off in pursuit of Tryphon, he sent his 'chief captain of the sea coast', Kendebaeus, to deal with Simon. He set up his head-quarters at Jamnia, and began a regular invasion of Judaea. As Simon was now getting on in years he left it to his two sons, Judas and John, to take up the fighting. Battle was soon joined; Kendebaeus was utterly routed, and his army was pursued by John—Judas had been wounded—into the Azotus district, where a large number of the enemy

¹ 1 Macc. xv. 29-31.

² Ibid., 33-5.

perished. This was in 137 B.C. As long as Simon was alive Antiochus VII made no further attempt to invade Judaea; thus for three years there was peace in the land.¹ Then in the spring of 134 B.C. Simon was treacherously murdered by the son of Abubus, his son-in-law Ptolemy, belonging to a priestly family, and captain of the Jewish army stationed at Jericho. The reason of this crime is given in 1 Macc. xvi. 13, where it is said in reference to Ptolemy that 'his heart was lifted up, and he was minded to make himself master of the country.' As he had 'much silver and gold' he would not have had any great difficulty in finding supporters to further his ambitious designs. The brief account of the murder is given in 1 Macc. xvi. 14-17:² 'Now Simon was visiting the cities that were in the country, and taking care for the good ordering of them; and he went down to Jericho, himself and Mattathias and Judas his sons, in the hundred and seventy and seventh year, in the eleventh month, the same is the month Sebat (=February); and the son of Abubus received them deceitfully into the little stronghold that is called Dok,³ which he had built, and made them a great banquet, and hid men there. And when Simon and his sons had drunk freely, Ptolemy and his men rose up, and took their arms, and came in upon Simon into the banqueting place, and slew him, and his two sons, and certain of his servants. And he committed a great iniquity, and recompensed evil for good.' The narrative then continues: 'And Ptolemy wrote these things and sent to the king (i.e. Antiochus VII, Sidetes) that he should send him forces to aid him, and that he (i.e. Ptolemy) might deliver to him (i.e. Antiochus) their country and the cities. And he sent others to Gazara to make away with John;⁴ and unto the captains of thousands he sent letters to come unto him that he might give them silver and gold and gifts. And others he sent to take possession of Jerusalem, and the mount of the temple'.⁵

This Ptolemy, the son of Abubus, was thus as energetic as he was unscrupulous; he must have had a considerable following; it shows that the Jewish Hellenistic party was still strong in the land.

¹ 1 Macc. xv. 32-xvi. 10; *Antiq.* xiii. 227.

² See also *Antiq.* xiii. 228.

³ Josephus gives the Greek form, Dagon; it is the modern 'Ain Duk, a spot where there are a number of springs, about four miles north-west of Jericho (*Antiq.* xiii. 230).

⁴ John was the other son of Simon, and governor of Gazara.

⁵ 1 Macc. xvi. 18-20.

Simon had done much for his people, as is amply shown in 1 Macc. xiii-xv; that no mention is made of any national mourning for him, as in the case of Judas (1 Macc. ix. 20-2) and Jonathan (1 Macc. xiii. 26), is easily accounted for by the hurried way in which 1 *Maccabees* is brought to an end. Ample amends are, however, made by Josephus; and it is noteworthy to see how much more space he gives to Simon than to Judas and Jonathan in the résumés of their leaderships, showing the popular feelings cherished for Simon even in later days. For Judas he has only a few lines;¹ for Jonathan the simple words 'they deplored his fate';² but to Simon he devotes a whole section.³ He says: 'Now the affection of the multitude towards Simon was so great, that in their contracts one with another, and in the public records they wrote: 'In the first year of Simon the benefactor and ethnarch of the Jews'; for under him they were very happy . . .

It is in view of this that we feel justified in believing that Zech. xii. 10-14 (it belongs to the section xii. 1-14) was written primarily with the thought of the death of Simon at the back of the writer's mind. The passage is a difficult one, and there are some corruptions in the Hebrew text; but in view of its interest it is worth a little detailed examination. It must be remarked, first, that the writer of the words to be considered was influenced by the book of *Ezekiel*. As so often, eschatological thought has its point of attachment with current historical events: 'In that day (the phrase occurs five times in the section) I will seek to destroy all nations that come against Jerusalem'; the attack of the Syrian army under Kendebeaus against 'Jerusalem', used for the land as a whole, is made to follow the pattern of the common eschatological *trait* that in the last day the Gentiles will attack the chosen people. There follows another eschatological thought, based on Ezek. xxxix. 29 (. . . 'I have poured out my spirit upon the house of Israel'), which says: 'And I will pour upon the house of David'⁴

¹ *Antiq.* xii. 432-4.

² *Ibid.*, xiii. 194.

³ *Ibid.*, 213-17.

⁴ The references both here and in verses 8, 10, 12 (cp. xiii. 1) to 'the house of David' must all be understood in the same sense as in Ps. cxxii. 5, where Jerusalem is glorified as the place where the throne of David and the throne of his successors stood. The expression stands for the 'ruling house'. As the writer of the passage under consideration was an Apocalyptist the expression would be familiar to him; the thought of 'the kingdom of the house of David' occurs in apocalyptic literature, cp. *Test. xii Patr.* Judah xxii. 3; *Pss. of Sol.* xvii. 5.

and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace and of supplication'; 'grace' is here used, as the context shows, in the sense of 'stirred emotion'; the writer has a definite historical event in his mind's eye, as his following words show: 'They shall look unto me whom they pierced'. But these words require some further consideration. The Hebrew root 'to look' (בט) has also the meaning 'to consider', or 'think', followed by the preposition 'regarding' or 'about', as in Ps. xxxiv. 5 [6 in Heb.]; and this may well be the sense of the word here. 'Unto me', or 'unto him' according to another reading, can, so far as the grammar is concerned, refer only to Yahweh; and that is, of course, out of the question; the word is, therefore, corrupt. Again, the Hebrew words (אֵלֵי אֶת אֲנִי) are ungrammatical, and cannot be right; the supposition of Wellhausen that אֵלֵי אֶת is the remnant of something that has fallen out of the text has much to be said in its favour; but it is quite possible, on the other hand, that the Septuagint (Lucianic recension) represents what stood originally in the Hebrew text, viz. אֶל-אֲנִי (cp. John xix. 37). There is, then, some justification for rendering the Hebrew, thus emended, by: 'they will think about him (i.e. Simon) whom they pierced'; the first 'they' will then refer to the inhabitants of Jerusalem; while 'they pierced' can either be taken in the sense of 'was pierced', or more probably, as we believe, it is in reference to Ptolemy, the son of Abubus, and his fellow criminals. The passage then goes on to say that as a result of their thinking about the pierced victim (i.e. Simon) a great mourning takes place, such as when one mourns for an only son; possibly, there was in the mind of the writer the fact that Simon was the last surviving son of Mattathias. So great was this mourning that it could only be compared with 'the mourning of Hadadrimmon in the valley of Megiddon'; that this is meaningless is recognized by most modern scholars. This is not the place to discuss the details of this famous textual difficulty; let it suffice to say that Cheyne's emendation¹ is so convincing and so entirely accords with what the context demands, that we have no hesitation in adopting it, viz. 'like the mourning of women lamenting Tammuz-Adon'² (cp. Ezek. viii. 14). It looks as though some scribe had deliberately altered the original form of the text because the mention of this heathen

¹ *Encycl. Bibl.* ii. 1931: תַּמְּזֻז-אֲדֹן.

² See Lucian, *De Dea Syria*, § 6.

cult offended his religious sensibilities. In the description of the mourning that takes place (Zech. xii. 12-14) there are some further points of significance. First, the strict separation of the sexes ('and their wives apart' repeated in the case of each family) marks a late period; there is nothing of the kind mentioned in earlier times; it was not in vogue even as late as the times of Nehemiah or Ezra (see Neh. xii. 43, Ezra x. 1). Then, there is so much significance in the order of the mourning families enumerated: 'the family of the house of David' comes first, in reference to the ruling family, i.e. the High-priestly family of which John was the head; as the son of the murdered Simon, he was the chief mourner. Then 'the family of the house of Jonathan'¹ these would be mentioned next as being nearest akin to the High-priest. 'The family of the house of Levi' is in reference to the priesthood. Thus, all those connected with the priesthood having been mentioned, the last to be spoken of are the more distant relatives of the murdered Simon, 'the family of the Simonites'.²

It will, therefore, be seen that there are grounds for believing that Zech. xii. 10-14 refers to the mourning for Simon, and thus, with Josephus, fills the gap in *1 Maccabees*.

Previous to the murder of Simon and his two sons, another son, John, known as Hyrcanus, had been appointed governor of Gazara. He was now heir to the High-priesthood, and therefore it was necessary for Ptolemy to get him out of the way. With this purpose in view he dispatched some men to Gazara to slay John; but they were forestalled by one who ran before them to warn John, so that as soon as they arrived they were met by John's men and slain.³ There was now a race between John and Ptolemy to get to Jerusalem; John got there just in time, so that when Ptolemy was endeavouring to enter the city by another gate, the people of Jerusalem drove him away, having already admitted Hyrcanus.⁴

In Jerusalem John Hyrcanus was, of course, immediately recognized as the rightful heir to the High-priesthood.

The Maccabaeen struggle was not yet at an end, but the death of the last of the three great leaders closed, in a certain sense, an epoch. The Hasmonaeen High-priesthood was founded by them; but as will be seen, the position and status of John

¹ Reading נְתַנִּי for נְתָנִי; the family of 'Nathan' would be pointless.

² Reading, following the Septuagint, הַשִּׁמְעִי for הַשִּׁמְעֹנִי; the family of 'Shimei' would, again, be pointless.

³ *1 Macc.* xvi. 19-22.

⁴ *Antiq.* xiii. 220.

Hyrchanus underwent a further development, and under him the Jewish State became something which it never had been under the sons of Mattathias; and therefore, while there was no cessation of the struggle, for the present, there is some justification for drawing a line, as it were, before we come to consider the further history of the Hasmonaean High-priesthood.

THE HASMONAEAN HIGH-PRIESTHOOD

SUMMARY

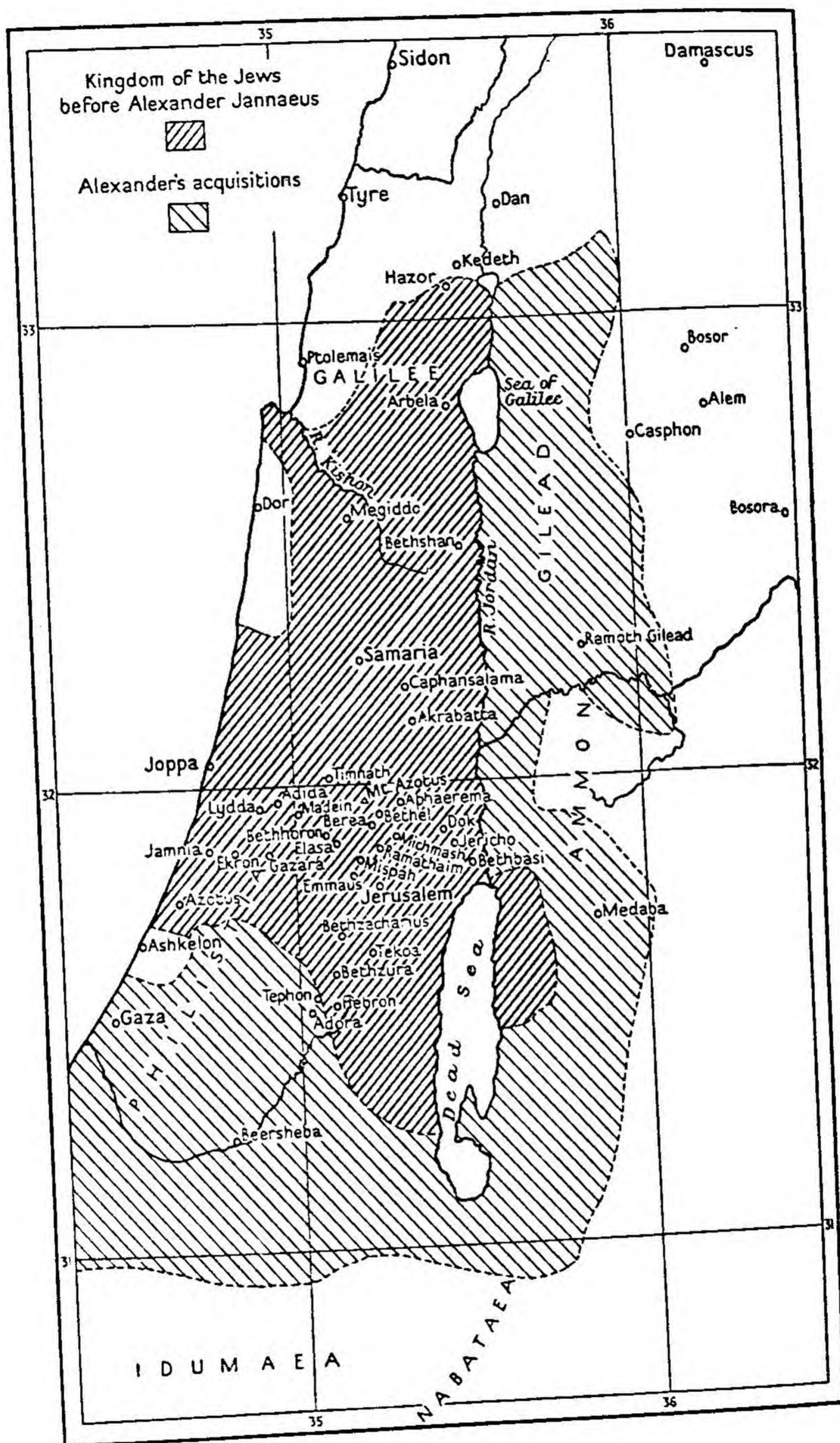
[The first care of John Hyrcanus on becoming High-priest was to try to get rid of the rival claimant, Ptolemy, the son of Abubus.

In the first year of his rulership Jerusalem was besieged by the Syrian king Antiochus VII, Sidetes. After a lengthy siege Hyrcanus realized that he could hold out no longer. Negotiations were opened with Antiochus, who showed great magnanimity in his treatment of the Jews. But Judaea still continued a vassal state. On the death of Antiochus, in 129 B.C., however, Hyrcanus reassumed his independence. In this he was supported by Rome. He extended the borders of his land and acted energetically in championing the cause of the Jewish religion. His assumption of the kingship was destined to cause serious discontent among his own people. Turmoils in different parts of the Syrian ruler's domains enabled Hyrcanus to push his projects forward without interference.

Important for the understanding of the religious parties among the Jews were the activities of different sections of the people during Hyrcanus' High-priesthood. At the beginning of his rulership he was on the friendliest terms with the strictly orthodox party who came to be known as the Pharisees, if they were not already known by this name; but later he broke with these and joined the Sadducean party. In the account of the reasons for this it appears that one of the main causes was the growing dislike of the Hasmonaeans by the orthodox party; this arose through Pharisaic resentment at Hyrcanus having assumed the kingship. Why they should have resented this is explained in the text.

John Hyrcanus was succeeded in 104 B.C. by Aristobulus I. The accounts of him which have come down to us make it somewhat difficult to estimate his character. But he certainly benefited his country by further enlarging its borders, if this can really be regarded as a benefit.

On the death of Aristobulus his widow (Alexandra) designated his brother Alexander Jannaeus High-priest and king. He married his widowed sister-in-law, thereby arousing the indignation of the orthodox party. Like his predecessors, Alexander Jannaeus at once sought to extend the borders of his land; the Syrian kingdom was unable to hinder him in this owing to the struggle there between the two claimants to the throne. The curious relations and struggles between Alexander Jannaeus, Ptolemy VIII, Lathyrus, the exiled king of Egypt, and Cleopatra III, the mother of the latter, the actual ruler of Egypt, ended in Cleopatra finding herself in a position of



being able to add Judaea to her possessions; the temptation was wisely resisted.

Alexander Jannaeus was now able to continue his work of extending the borders of his land. But these military activities, so alien to what the duties and ideals of a High-priest should be, shocked the susceptibilities of the Pharisees and their large following among the people. The result was a very strained relationship between ruler and people. In spite of this, however, Alexander continued to conquer territory with the help of foreign mercenaries. Finally, civil war broke out; Alexander had an army consisting of those Jews who were opposed to the Pharisees and a number of mercenaries; the Jewish nationalists were led by the Syrian ruler Demetrius III whom the Pharisees had called to their aid. Alexander was defeated; but a strange turn of fortune occurred owing, in all probability, to the racial and national feelings of the Jews, who preferred, in spite of all, a Hasmonaeon ruler in a free Jewish State to being subject to a Seleucid prince. During the rest of his reign Alexander Jannaeus continued his wars of conquest in which, for the most part, he was victorious, so that the extent of territory under Jewish rule was now far greater than it had been in the time of Hyrcanus. Towards the end of his reign Alexander realized the wisdom of keeping on good terms with the Pharisees; he died in 76 B.C.

According to Alexander Jannaeus' directions the sovereignty after his death was vested in his widow Alexandra. She appointed the elder of her two sons, Hyrcanus, to the High-priesthood. It was due to her that the leaders of the Pharisaic party in effect ruled the land both politically and religiously. In the latter sphere their efforts were directed towards enforcing the observance of the 'Law of Moses', according to their ideas, among the people.

Later in the reign of Alexandra opposition to the Pharisees arose on the part of the Sadducean party, at whose head stood Aristobulus, the queen's second son. Bitter enmity existed between the two brothers, and at the time of Alexandra's death, in 67 B.C., the State was torn by two factions headed respectively by Hyrcanus and Aristobulus. The battle which took place ended in the defeat of Hyrcanus; and, though the rightful heir to the throne, he retired at his own wish into private life, leaving both the kingship and the High-priesthood to his younger brother, Aristobulus. But Hyrcanus' friend, the able and energetic governor of Idumaea, Antipater, persuaded him to assert himself, and to try to regain his rights. Fighting broke out between the two brothers again; but then Pompey, the Roman general, appeared upon the scene. He sided with Hyrcanus; Aristobulus shut himself up in Jerusalem. Then followed the fall of Jerusalem and the end of the Jewish State; Judaea was added to the Roman province of Syria (63 B.C.). Hyrcanus was

granted independence in his own land, though as a vassal of Rome.]

I. JOHN HYRCANUS (134/3-104/3 B.C.)

JOHN HYRCANUS' first care on attaining the office of High-priest (in the spring of 134 B.C.) was to get rid of the rival claimant, Ptolemy, the son of Abubus. This latter, on finding his entrance to Jerusalem barred and the people siding with John, retired to his stronghold of Dok. Thither he was followed by the High-priest and besieged; but ultimately Ptolemy managed to escape, and sought refuge with Zeno, called Cotylas, 'who was then the tyrant¹ of the city Philadelphia'.²

We saw that during the last few years of Simon's leadership Antiochus VII, Sidetes, had made no further attempt to assert his authority in Palestine; what the reason for this abstention was is not known; but that he had no intention of letting the land slip from his grasp became evident already in the first year of John Hyrcanus. He invaded Palestine and ravaged the country. Then Hyrcanus shut himself up in Jerusalem, and a lengthy siege followed. Frequent sallies were made, but without effect; and as the danger of famine became acute Hyrcanus felt compelled to send the non-combatants out of the city. Finally, it became clear that the city could hold out no longer, and Hyrcanus asked, first, for a truce of seven days in order that the feast of Tabernacles might be celebrated.³ This was conceded by Antiochus, and not only so, but, according to Josephus, 'he sent a magnificent sacrifice, bulls with their horns gilded, with all sorts of sweet spices, and with cups of gold and silver'. Antiochus' consideration when it was a question of a religious observance was shown again when, accompanied by Hyrcanus, on his Parthian campaign (see below, p. 278), he made a halt of two days for Hyrcanus' sake because the latter wished to observe the day of Pentecost which was followed by the Sabbath;⁴ according to Jewish law travelling was forbidden on these days. Antiochus was strongly urged by the majority of his advisers to deal summarily with the Jews, in fact, to

¹ Hölscher, *op. cit.*, pp. 83 ff., has collected some interesting details about the 'tyrants', a species of freebooters, who began to infest Palestine soon after the time of Antiochus Epiphanes.

² *Antiq.* xiii. 235.

³ This is also referred to by an unknown Greek writer cited under Plutarch, *De Superstitione*, viii, quoted by Reinach, *op. cit.*, pp. 136 f.

⁴ Josephus, quoting Nicolaus of Damascus, *Antiq.* xiii. 251 f.

destroy the nation, or at least to force them, as Antiochus Epiphanes had attempted to do, to give up their religion; the king, however, 'magnanimous according to his wont', would have none of this, but offered terms of peace (in reality no doubt an ultimatum), according to which the besieged had to deliver up their arms, to pay tribute for Joppa and the other cities lying outside the borders of Judaea, to pay also five hundred talents of silver, and to give hostages. These terms had perforce to be accepted. Antiochus then destroyed the fortifications of Jerusalem and withdrew.¹ As, according to *Megillath Taanith*, the withdrawal of Antiochus took place on the 28th of Shebat, the siege must have lasted about a year.

From this it is to be seen that Judaea, in spite of all the efforts of the Maccabaeen leaders, was still a vassal state.

A difficult question arises here regarding the relations between the Jews and Rome which Josephus mentions;² there can be no doubt that Josephus has got his facts somewhat mixed up. The main point turns upon whether Hyrcanus' appeal to Rome for recognition and help was made immediately before Antiochus Sidetes took Jerusalem, or after this; or whether this appeal was made after Demetrius II had reappeared on the scene (see below). Whether it is possible to give a certain answer to this must remain open; but Willrich's discussion and conclusion has much to commend it. After a careful comparison between the three Josephus passages and other data, Willrich comes to the conclusion that Hyrcanus' communication with the Senate took place in his ninth year, 127/6 B.C. This year was also the last but one of the second period of Demetrius II's reign. After the death of Antiochus VII in 129 B.C., Hyrcanus had reassumed his independence; but Demetrius II determined to make Judaea part of his empire once more. He was prevented from doing so on account of a revolt among his own people and by the appearance of Alexander Zabinas, supported by Ptolemy VII, Physcon, king of Egypt, as a claimant to the throne. Since Hyrcanus had assumed his independence it may be gathered that he had annexed Joppa and the other coast towns immediately after the death of Antiochus VII, and at the same

¹ *Antiq.* xiii. 236-44; Posidonius, §§ 1-4, quoted by Reinach, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-9. The fact that Jerusalem itself and its inhabitants were unharmed must have been very unexpected, and may well have been interpreted as the act of God; it is possible that the writer of Zech. xii. 1-9 based his apocalyptic picture on this.

² *Antiq.* xiii. 259-66, xiv. 143-54 and 247-55.

time had got into communication with Rome, with whom a pact was made. Then, finding his newly acquired possessions threatened by Demetrius, he sent to Rome again seeking protection. Hereupon the Romans wrote the documents, mentioned in *Antiq.* xiv. 143-8, to 'the free cities and to the kings', warning them against any injury being done to the Jews and their harbours. By the 'kings' must be understood Demetrius and his rival, Alexander Zabinas, and Ptolemy VII, Physcon.¹ This seems to be a reasonable conclusion regarding the matter, though it may not completely solve all the difficulties connected with it.

After Antiochus Sidetes had re-established Syrian suzerainty in Palestine, he turned his attention to the eastern parts of his empire, and undertook a campaign against the Parthians. Hyrcanus, whether compelled to do so or, as Josephus says, 'because there was a league of friendship and mutual assistance made between them', accompanied Antiochus on this expedition. It will be remembered that Demetrius II had been taken prisoner in 141 B.C. by Mithridates I, king of the Parthians, who treated him well.² Demetrius was now released by the present king, Arsaces, for the purpose of attacking Antiochus. Although at first successful, Antiochus was ultimately worsted by the Parthians, and fell in battle in the spring of 129 B.C.³ Demetrius II was thus sole king of Syria. The difficulties with which he was immediately confronted forced him to leave Hyrcanus in peace, and the latter was not slow to take advantage of this. He at once sought to extend the borders of Judaea; he began on the east of Jordan, and captured Medaba, though not until after a siege lasting six months, and other cities and districts; then, turning northwards, he took Shechem with Gerizim, destroying the temple of the Cuthaeans, i.e. Samaritans, there. Further, in the south he conquered Idumaea, forcing the inhabitants to accept Judaism, with its rites and customs.⁴ In Jerusalem he built a new fort north-west of the Temple.

It is necessary to observe here that in these military undertakings Hyrcanus was not merely actuated by the lust of conquest; true, he desired to enlarge the borders of his land that

¹ *Urkundenfälschung*, pp. 60-5. For other views see Schürer, *op. cit.*, i. 260-2; Bevan, in *Camb. Anc. Hist.* viii. 529 f.

² See above, p. 266.

³ *Antiq.* xiii. 253.

⁴ *Antiq.* xiii. 254-8. The episode is also spoken of in a fragment from Ammonius quoted by Reinach, *op. cit.*, p. 88 f.

it might be as it was in the days of yore; but that he strove as a religious champion is clear; the reason why he destroyed the temple at Gerizim was because he would permit no rival sanctuary to Jerusalem in the land of his fathers. His forcing the Idumaeans to embrace Judaism is another proof of his religious zeal. In this connexion it will be remembered how anxious Hyrcanus was to keep the Feast of Tabernacles while Antiochus was besieging Jerusalem. One other point is worth noting here; the inscriptions on the coins of Hyrcanus which have come down to us run: 'John the High-priest and the Community¹ of the Jews', or 'John the High-priest, head of the Community of the Jews'. The inscriptions show that Hyrcanus considered himself primarily the head of a *religious* community; this bears out what has been said. John Hyrcanus was the first of the Hasmonaean princes to issue coins in his own name. On the question of his kingship, see below (p. 285 f.).

Hyrcanus' military and religious activities were, however, only possible because of the turmoil going on within the Syrian empire. This demands a little attention here.

One of the first acts of Demetrius II on resuming his interrupted reign in 129 B.C. was to fall out with his brother-in-law, Ptolemy VII, Physcon; the latter promptly sent a rival claimant to the Syrian throne to deal with Demetrius; this was Alexander Zabinas, mentioned above, supposed to have been the son of Alexander Balas. He defeated Demetrius near Damascus; Demetrius then fled to Ptolemaïs and took ship to Tyre, where, on landing, he was assassinated (126/5 B.C.). Thereupon Alexander Zabinas made a treaty with Hyrcanus; but very soon the rightful heir to the throne, Demetrius' son, Antiochus VIII, Grypos, appeared; we have no details of the course of events, but fighting must have gone on between him and Alexander Zabinas for some time; in 123/2 B.C. the latter was overcome in battle, taken prisoner, and put to death. Antiochus VIII was then undisputed king.² For a few years there seems to have been peace, and then the step-brother of Antiochus Grypos, named Antiochus IX, Kyzikenos, came forth to claim the throne (115 B.C.).³ War between these two continued intermittently for some

¹ On the word *Cheber* see Schürer, *op. cit.*, i. 269.

² *Antiq.* xiii. 269. His wife, Cleopatra Thea, reigned jointly with him for some years (125-121 B.C.).

³ Josephus (*Antiq.* xiii. 270) makes it appear that war between these two broke out immediately on the death of Alexander Zabinas; but Justinus (xxxix. ii. 9)

time until 113 B.C.; then Antiochus Kyzikenos gained the upper hand, and for two years remained undisputed king of Syria.¹

It will thus be seen that with all this fighting going on between the claimants to the Syrian throne, there was not much fear of Hyrcanus being molested. We have seen how he utilized this immunity from outside interference for the purpose of widening the borders of the land and championing the cause of Judaism; one more illustration of this is recorded which took place towards the end of his reign. In the year 108 B.C. Hyrcanus made an expedition against Samaria; the city was encircled, and the conduct of the siege was committed to the two sons of Hyrcanus, Antigonus and Aristobulus. The Samaritans appealed to Antiochus Kyzikenos for help; this he attempted to give, but he was driven off by the Jews. He tried again, this time with the help of Egyptian troops, but was no more successful. In revenge he had to content himself with ravaging the country; but he was soon compelled to retire altogether. In the meantime, the siege of Samaria continued, and not until after a whole year did it capitulate. Hyrcanus then razed the city to the ground.² In addition to this Skythopolis (Bethshan) and the Plain of Jezreel were also incorporated in Jewish territory.³

These successes, Josephus records, occasioned such envy against Hyrcanus that a sedition broke out;⁴ that a movement in opposition to Hyrcanus took place is doubtless true, but it is difficult to believe that envy was the cause. The event is also referred to in *Antiq.* xiii. 288, and from what is said there it seems clear that the rising against Hyrcanus was prompted by the Pharisees and their following. We shall see presently that there are good grounds for this supposition.

John Hyrcanus died in 104/3 B.C. after having 'administered the government in the best manner for thirty-one years. . . . He was esteemed by God worthy of the three greatest privileges, the government of his nation, the dignity of the High-priesthood, and prophecy, for God was with him . . .'.⁵

says that there was peace for eight years (Schürer, *op. cit.*, i. 266). Both are probably wrong, but a few years of peace there evidently were.

¹ Antiochus Grypos escaped, but no details of his subsequent doings are forthcoming; the only other mention of him is in *Antiq.* xiii. 365, where it is said that 'about this very time (i.e. 96 B.C.) Antiochus, who was called Grypos, died.' His death was caused by Heracleon's treachery, when he had lived forty-five years, and had reigned twenty-nine.

² *Antiq.* xiii. 275-9.

³ See Schlatter, *op. cit.*, p. 413.

⁴ *Bell. Jud.* i. 67.

⁵ *Antiq.* xiii. 299, 300.

Considering the length of his reign there is not much that is recorded; unfortunately the book of the Chronicles of his High-priesthood, mentioned in 1 Macc. xvi. 24, has not come down to us. But one important matter regarding the internal affairs of the land is referred to by Josephus; to this we must now turn.

There is a strange inconsistency in the fact that belonging to the same Jewish priesthood we find, on the one hand, the murderer Ptolemy, the son of Abubus, and, on the other, priests so punctilious in the observance of the Law that even while the city of Jerusalem is in the direst straits, owing to the siege by Antiochus Sidetes, they insist on keeping the Feast of Tabernacles. This shows, as Schlatter says, how deep the cleft was that divided the priesthood.¹ It included, on the one hand, politicians who shrank from nothing that would further their ambition, and, on the other, devotees who would permit nothing to come between them and their religious duties. The latter were those who more and more gained a following among the populace. The *Chasidim*, of whom we read as taking part in the early period of the Maccabaeen rising, were those to whom this religious section of the priesthood would greatly appeal; like these priests they were zealous for the observance of the Law. But, and this is an important fact to bear in mind, the *Chasidim* were now quite distinct from the Maccabaeans, with whom they had at first identified themselves. When it was a question of fighting in defence of the ancestral religion, the *Chasidim* willingly joined the Maccabaeans; but when religious freedom had been gained and Maccabaeen ideals were centred in territorial expansion and the attainment of independence, then the *Chasidim* took no further part in the struggle; religion and, above all, religious legalism was what they lived for and for which they were prepared to die. Even before the Maccabaeen rising the orthodox party in the priesthood, with its numerous following among the people, was opposed by the more worldly section of the priesthood, and this section identified itself with the priestly aristocracy, i.e. the rulers of the land; and, since those belonging to this section were necessarily brought into frequent contact with the Syrian court, they inevitably tended to become more and more hellenistically inclined. It must, therefore, be emphasized that there was a social and political, as well as a religious antagonism between these two sections into which the people

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 137.

were divided. High-priest though the head of the State was, religion played but a very minor part in his activities; and the same applied to his aristocratic following; therefore the legal orthodoxy of their opponents became only more rigid. Then, when later the High-priesthood became vested in the Maccabaeans, the tendency to worldliness and irreligion came by degrees to be characteristic of them, as it had been in their predecessors in office. To be sure, this was only gradual; Jonathan, who was the first Maccabaeus, or Hasmonaeus, High-priest, Simon, and to a large extent Hyrcanus, all had religious ideals at heart; but even with them politics and their social position tended to drive the higher ideals into the background.

But while these very different points of view were characteristic of the two sections of the people, there was for many years no question of the formation of parties. This did not take place until the moribund condition of the Syrian kingdom made it no longer a menace to Jewish independence. The first time we hear of the existence of definite parties representing these opposing points of view is during the leadership of Jonathan, when the High-priestly party is spoken of as the Sadducees, or sons of Zadok, and the orthodox party goes by the name of the Pharisees, or separated ones.¹ Whether Josephus is right in thus labelling the parties as early as the time of Jonathan is not absolutely certain; but there can be no doubt that in the time of Hyrcanus Sadducees, as such, not only existed, but were in bitter opposition to the champions of orthodoxy.²

During the early years of his reign Hyrcanus, though High-priest, was on entirely friendly terms with the orthodox party, which from henceforth, at any rate, is called the party of the Pharisees. But he broke with the Pharisees, and joined himself to the Sadducees; and the reason for his doing so is very instructive. It is to be found in a narrative given by Josephus;³ the narrative is not to be regarded as historical; but it gives in a pictorial form the essence of the Pharisaic point of view, and, therefore, the cause of the antagonism between Pharisees and Sadducees. It is as follows: John Hyrcanus, as the friend of the Pharisees, made them a feast; during the feast he reminded

¹ *Antiq.* xiii. 173; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 164-6; see, further, Additional Note H.

² The growing antagonism between the orthodox party and the ruling house is reflected in 1 Enoch xcii, xciv-xcv, and in *The Psalms of Solomon*.

³ *Antiq.* xiii. 288-98.

them of his desire to be a righteous man and 'to do all things whereby he might please God, and them'; but, he continued, 'he desired, if they observed him offending in any point, and going out of the right way, that they would call him back and correct him'. With one exception, they all protested that they were entirely satisfied. The exception was a certain Eleazar, who said to Hyrcanus: 'Since thou desirest to know the truth, if thou wilt be righteous in earnest, lay down the High-priesthood, and content thyself with the civil government of the people.' On Hyrcanus desiring to know on what grounds he ought to lay down the High-priesthood, Eleazar answered: 'We have heard it from old men, that thy mother had been a captive in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes.' The point here is that since it was taken for granted that any woman held captive would have been outraged,¹ therefore, as the son of an impure woman, Hyrcanus was unfit to occupy the office of High-priest. The statutory prohibition which forbade the son of a woman who had been a captive to become a priest may well have been ancient; but its present application was new.² Hyrcanus was very angry with Eleazar, and so all the Pharisees appeared to be. Then a Sadducee, Jonathan by name, who is described as a great friend to Hyrcanus, said to him that he would soon see what the real feelings of the Pharisees, as a body, were on this point if he asked them what punishment they considered ought to be meted out to Eleazar for his insulting and, at the same time, libellous words. He asked them; and they unanimously declared for a 'moderate punishment of stripes, but not of death'. At this expression of opinion, advocating so gentle a sentence, Hyrcanus was very angry and, believing that it was with the approval of the Pharisees as a body that Eleazar had offered him the insult, he broke off his friendly relations with them. Then Josephus goes on to say that it was Jonathan, meaning, of course, as a representative of the Sadducees, who induced Hyrcanus to break with the Pharisees, and to forbid the observances which they had taught the people to practise; 'from this source', he says, 'arose that hatred which he [i.e. Hyrcanus] and his sons met with from the multitude.'

Unhistorical and unconvincing as this story is, it does, nevertheless, reflect two matters of importance in Jewish history. It is intended to explain the origin and reason of two very

¹ Cp. Bab. Talmud, *Ket.* 22^a, 27^a.

² Schlatter, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

prominent facts in the subsequent affairs of the people: the antagonism between the Pharisees and Sadducees, and the popular hatred for the Hasmonaean rulers; the two interlace, it is true, but they certainly had a separate origin.

Let us take the former of these first. The narrative is, no doubt, intended to show how the Pharisees subordinated everything to their interpretation of the Law; the High-priest himself was to be made to bow not merely to the Law—he could have no objection to that—but to what the Pharisees said was the Law, to their interpretation of the Law. It is easy to see how such a claim would be resented by the aristocratic, high-priestly party. In an important passage Josephus records that ‘the Pharisees have delivered to the people a great many observances by succession from their fathers, which are not written in the laws of Moses; and for that reason it is that the Sadducees reject them, and say, that we are to esteem observances to be obligatory which are in the written word, but are not to observe what are derived from the tradition of our forefathers. And concerning these things it is that great disputes and differences have arisen among them, while the Sadducees are able to persuade none but the rich, and have not the populace obsequious to them; but the Pharisees have the multitude on their side’.¹

The antagonism must have been simmering for long; but it was under Hyrcanus that the open breach between what now became definitely opposed parties took place. From this time forward the bitterness between the populace guided by the Pharisees, and the ruling Sadducaean party became more and more pronounced.

Josephus’ story, without doubt, is intended to explain how and when and why the opposing parties came into existence, though so far as the story itself is concerned, it is, of course, absurd to suppose that the parties, as such, came into existence in the way recorded.

But the second purpose of the story is to explain the subsequent hatred of the people for the Hasmonaean rulers: ‘From this source arose that hatred which he [Hyrcanus] and his sons met with from the multitude.’ Josephus gives as the reason for this the fact that Hyrcanus abolished the decrees which the Pharisees had imposed upon the people, and punished those that observed them. This was not the real reason, as we shall see.

¹ *Antiq.* xiii. 298; *Bell. Jud.* i. 110–12.

In Josephus' story there is one point which must appear a little mystifying to every reader; it is this: Why should Hyrcanus be so angry, to the extent of breaking with the Pharisees, between whom and himself there had been such good feeling, simply because they had given it as their opinion that the moderate punishment of stripes, instead of death, was sufficient for the man who had insulted him? Evidently something lies beneath this which does not appear upon the surface, and which, for a reason which will be pointed out, Josephus suppressed. What this was it is the merit of Aptowitzer to have made quite clear.¹

The original purpose of this story, wherever Josephus may have got it from and whatever may have been his use of it, was to place on record the resentment which the Pharisees felt at Hyrcanus having assumed the kingship. The punishment for insulting or libelling a priest was stripes, for insulting the king, death. Hyrcanus' anger against the Pharisees was due to the fact that by declaring that Eleazar's punishment should be stripes, and not death, they, in effect, implied that they did not recognize his kingship.

But this raises three questions, which demand answers: (1) What proof is there that John Hyrcanus was the first Hasmonaean king? (2) Why should Josephus wish to conceal the fact? (3) Why should the Pharisees resent his assuming the kingship?

(1) Josephus says quite definitely: 'Now when their father Hyrcanus was dead, the eldest son, Aristobulus, intending to change the government into a kingdom, for so he resolved to do, was the first of all to put a diadem on his head.'² But in spite of this definite statement Josephus shows quite clearly that *Hyrcanus* was the first to assume the kingship. He records how, at the death of Hyrcanus, he left the government in the hands of his wife. How could Hyrcanus have done this if he were only ruling High-priest and not sovereign as well? Elsewhere Josephus says that the prosperous affairs of Hyrcanus moved the Pharisees to envy; but almost in the same breath he goes on to say that 'Hyrcanus was a disciple of theirs and greatly beloved by them';³ why should they have been envious, then? This Josephus betrays by accident in adding: 'These have so great

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 13-16.

² *Antiq.* xiii. 301; *Bell. Jud.* i. 70; on the other hand, Strabo (xvi. 762) says that Alexander Jannaeus was the first to assume the kingship.

³ *Antiq.* xiii. 289.

a power over the multitude, that when they say anything against *the king* or against the High-priest, at once they are believed'; here, therefore, it slips out that there is a king as well as a High-priest; and to whom could that refer other than to Hyrcanus? Why the Pharisees should speak against the king will be seen presently. And once more, in describing the funeral honours accorded to Alexander Jannaeus, Josephus says that 'he had a funeral more splendid than had any of the kings before him';¹ but there was only one king between Alexander Jannaeus and Hyrcanus, namely, Aristobulus; so that 'the kings before him' must include Hyrcanus. In addition to this, Aptowitzer mentions two other authorities according to whose evidence Hyrcanus was the first Hasmonaean king: the Arabic book of Maccabees, and Jerome in his Commentary on Ezek. xxi. 30, 31; there is in addition the evidence from Rabbinical literature.

(2) The reason why Josephus tried to conceal the fact that Hyrcanus was the first Hasmonaean king was because, as will be explained, it cast a grave reflection upon him; and in Josephus' eyes Hyrcanus was an ideal ruler, as is clear from his description of him.² Hence his designation of Aristobulus as the first king; in the case of this king it did not matter if a slur were cast upon him; his reign was comparatively insignificant, and his character left much to be desired, according to later views.

(3) Lastly, we come to the reason why the Pharisees resented Hyrcanus' assumption of the kingship. The Pharisaic resentment was justified because, according to the teaching of the prophets and time-honoured tradition, only one belonging to the house and lineage of David could sit upon the throne of Israel. For any one else to do so was a usurpation. The Pharisees would feel it their duty to speak to the people against a king who was doing despite to one of the most cherished convictions and hopes of the nation. Indeed, as Aptowitzer says, if Aristobulus or Alexander Jannaeus had had the temerity to be the first to arrogate to himself the crown of David there would not have been wanting violent opposition and open rebellion. But in the case of Hyrcanus, the glorious conqueror who had increased the power and political *prestige* of Israel, who on account of his personal character and attachment to the teaching of the Pharisees had endeared himself to the people—if he assumed

¹ *Antiq.* xiii. 406.

² *Antiq.* xiii. 299, 300; *Bell. Jud.* i. 68, 69.

the royal diadem, gratitude for his achievements and respect for his personality would, at any rate, prevent open opposition, though silent resentment would assuredly not have been wanting.

When once the precedent had been formed, then one can understand that it would continue in the succession; but it was one of the main causes of the subsequent bitterness and open strife between the Pharisees, with their following among the populace, and the Hasmonaean rulers.

2. ARISTOBULUS I (103/2 B.C.)

It had been the intention of John Hyrcanus to leave the government of the State in the hands of his widow;¹ the High-priesthood was naturally assumed by the eldest of his five sons, Aristobulus. This assignment to a woman of the civil power was something new in the Jewish State; it was resented by Aristobulus who (according to Josephus) with incredible barbarity starved his mother to death in prison, a charge which it is difficult to accept as justified. Fearing that his brothers might dispute the rulership with him, he imprisoned them all, with the exception of Antigonus; for this latter he appears to have had a real affection, and he trusted him so far that he shared with him the government. But evil-disposed persons managed by means of calumnies to sow distrust in the heart of Aristobulus against his brother; the wife of Aristobulus, Salome, was apparently the moving spirit in this; the result was that Antigonus was treacherously murdered, on his return from a victorious expedition, by the command of his brother. According to Josephus, remorse aggravated the malady from which Aristobulus suffered, and this hastened his death within a year of his assuming the rulership.² It is difficult to believe that a man who could murder his own mother without qualms of conscience should have felt remorse for murdering his brother; but, though probably unhistorical, the mention of the former act is valuable as showing that such things could not be thought of in Palestine without arousing the horror of the people. In Egypt acts of this kind were looked upon as merely belonging to ordinary statecraft and aroused no protest.

It must be confessed that in view of other evidence mentioned

¹ *Antiq.* xiii. 302; *Bell. Jud.* i. 71.

² *Antiq.* xiii. 314.

by Josephus it is difficult to believe that the narrative of Aristobulus' cruelty can be true; Schürer may well be right in holding that the reports originated later in Pharisaic circles in order to blacken the character of one who was a Sadducee and an ardent lover of Greek culture.¹ In his concluding words about Aristobulus, Josephus says:

'He was called a lover of the Greeks, and he conferred many benefits on his own country, and made war against Ituraea, and added a great part of it to Judaea, and compelled the inhabitants, if they desired to continue in that country, to be circumcised, and to live according to the Jewish laws. He was naturally a man of candour, and of great modesty, as Strabo bears witness, in the name of Timagenes, who speaks thus: "This man was a fair-minded person, and very serviceable to the Jews, for he added a country to them, and obtained a part of the nation of the Ituraeans for them, and bound them to them by the bond of circumcision."'²

This evidence, it must be acknowledged, presents Aristobulus in a rather different light. Taken with what Josephus says elsewhere, we are able to gather that Aristobulus must have been a man of considerable ambition and energy. He was not, as we have seen, the first of the Hasmonaeans to assume the title of king; it is true that the royal title does not appear upon his coins, which bear the inscription: 'Judah the High-priest, and the Community of the Jews',³ just as the coins of his father John Hyrcanus, who was also king, lack the royal title. As in the case of his father, his assumption of the kingship must have been viewed with grave displeasure by the Pharisees; their ideal was a theocratic state; but, if there was to be a king of the people of God, it could be justified only in the person of one who was of the house of David, in accordance with prophetic teaching; a Levitical monarch, like Aristobulus, was wholly out of place; and he had not, as his father had, a personality to commend him to the people.

It is worthy of note that he combined his love of Greek culture with a zeal for the traditions of the Jewish faith, as his dealings with the Ituraeans show. His acquisition of new territory must also be noted; what precisely is to be included under 'a part of the nation of the Ituraeans' cannot be said; their land touched the Lebanon district in the north, the southern part including

¹ *Op. cit.*, i. 276.

² *Antiq.* xiii. 318, 319.

³ In *Antiq.* xx. 240 he is spoken of as 'Judah who is also called Aristobulus'; see, further, Schürer, *op. cit.*, i. 275; Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, pp. 81 ff. (1881).

Galilee; Schürer gives good grounds for his contention that what Aristobulus added to Judaeian territory was the land of Galilee, which he was the first to judaize.¹

It will thus be seen that, short as his rule was, Aristobulus accomplished a good deal for his country.

3. ALEXANDER JANNAEUS (102/1-76/5 B.C.)

On the death of Aristobulus, who left no son, his widow, Salome, called Alexandra by the Greeks, released his three brothers from prison; the eldest of the three, Alexander Jannaeus (Jonathan) she designated king,² and at the same time he naturally assumed the High-priesthood. There can be little doubt that Alexander married his sister-in-law, thereby appropriating to himself whatever claims to the throne she had.³

The Hasmonaeian tradition of seeking to enlarge the borders of the land was followed by Alexander at the first opportunity. He had nothing to fear from Syria, for Antiochus VIII, Grypos, and Antiochus IX, Kyzikenos, were busy fighting one another for the throne. His first objective was Ptolemaïs (Akko) which he besieged; this was one of the most important maritime cities of Phoenicia; and its proximity to Galilee made it especially valuable to Alexander. As the inhabitants of Ptolemaïs knew it was useless to look to a Syrian ruler for help, they appealed to Ptolemy VIII (Soter II, Lathyros),⁴ who, having been deprived of the Egyptian throne by his mother Cleopatra III, had taken refuge in Cyprus,⁵ a Ptolemaic dependency. Ptolemy Lathyros responded to the appeal and arrived with an army before Ptolemaïs. Alexander Jannaeus seems to have been intimidated by this,⁶ and, again following the Hasmonaeian tradition of drawing an advantage by setting others by the ears, he called upon Cleopatra to come and fight her son. This resulted in a grand complication; for Cleopatra, acceding to Alexander's invitation, came into Palestine with an army⁷ to assist him

¹ *Op. cit.*, i. 275 f. and 707 ff.

² He was the first of the Hasmonaeians to put the title of king on his coins.

³ On this see further below, p. 296.

⁴ Lathyros ('Chick-pea') was his popular nickname, but it is not known why he received this name (Bevan, *The Ptolemaic Dynasty*, p. 327).

⁵ *Antiq.* xiii. 328, 352; *Bell. Jud.* i. 86.

⁶ Ptolemy's army consisted of thirty thousand men, all told (*Antiq.* xiii. 333).

⁷ Cleopatra III had been friendly to the Jews in Egypt, and her army was commanded by two Jewish generals, Chelkias and Ananias, the sons of the High-priest Onias, who had built the temple at Leontopolis (see above, p. 220).

against Ptolemy; at the same time she allied herself with Antiochus Grypos, while Ptolemy, following suit, allied himself with Antiochus Kyzikenos. At the end of it all nobody seems to have derived any advantage, with the exception of Alexander Jannaeus; for when it was all over he found himself in a position to make further conquests. But we have somewhat anticipated; there are one or two details in this episode of general warfare which merit attention. When Ptolemy Lathyros arrived in Palestine in response to the request from the people of Ptolemaïs, the first act of Alexander Jannaeus was to raise the siege of that city and to make peace with Ptolemy; this was, however, merely to gain time for the purpose of enlisting the help of Cleopatra against her son. But Alexander's move came to the ears of Ptolemy, who promptly took the initiative; he captured and plundered Asochis¹ in Galilee, and then moved against Alexander's army, encamping at a place called Asophon¹ on the Jordan; crossing the river, Ptolemy attacked Alexander; the battle continued with varying success, but ultimately Alexander's troops gave way and fled; they were pursued by Ptolemy's men, who 'slew them so long that their weapons of iron were blunted, and their hands quite tired with the slaughter'.² By this time, however, Cleopatra's army had appeared upon the scene. With considerable astuteness Ptolemy slipped away with his army and hastened southwards with the intention of going to Egypt; this might have made things very awkward for Cleopatra, but she had been wise enough to cover her rear, so that when Ptolemy reached the Egyptian frontier he found himself confronted by another army, and had to withdraw. He came to Gaza, where he shut himself up, intending to winter there; but he was evidently in no position to undertake further operations.³ In the meantime, Cleopatra had seized Ptolemaïs after a siege. With Ptolemy rendered harmless, and Alexander helpless, Cleopatra found Palestine at her feet. Small wonder that she was strongly urged to make the country once more a dependency of Egypt. It was wise policy on her part that she refused to do this; for it was not without good reason that she followed the advice of her Jewish general Ananias, who is reported to have said to her that 'she would do an unjust action if she deprived a man that was her

¹ For the position of these places see Schürer, *op. cit.*, i. 277 f.

² *Antiq.* xiii. 343.

³ *Ibid.*, 350.

ally (i.e. Alexander Jannaeus) of that authority which belonged to him, this man being, moreover, related to us; for, said he, I would not have thee ignorant of this, that any injustice thou doest to him will make us all that are Jews to be thine enemies.¹ It is interesting to observe how much influence the Jews must have had in the Egyptian empire for Cleopatra to have been so impressed by this argument. She withdrew her army from Palestine and returned to Egypt. Ptolemy found his position untenable and went back to Cyprus. So the result of all this turmoil, as we have said, was that Alexander Jannaeus was once more master in his own land, and free to take up again his task of enlarging the borders of Palestine.

He started by capturing Gadara, after a ten months' siege, and the strongly fortified place Amathus and other cities on the east of Jordan; after this he turned west into Philistia and took Raphia, Anthedon, and, after a year's siege, Gaza.² Then he returned to Jerusalem.

It is at this point that Josephus quite suddenly introduces us to the state of affairs existing between Alexander and his own people. We have seen why, first John Hyrcanus,³ and then Aristobulus,⁴ had aroused the opposition of the Pharisees and with them a large following among the people. These causes contributed to the animus against Alexander Jannaeus felt by all those who were influenced by the Pharisees, and they were greatly aggravated when they realized that the High-priest had so small a respect for his office that his time and energies were directed almost wholly towards self-aggrandizement by means of warfare. Their justifiable antipathy was first aroused at the very beginning of his rule by his marrying the widow of his brother, Salome, for it was against the law for any priest to marry a widow.⁵ But it was still more his utter unfitness for the holy office he occupied that aroused the popular indignation.⁶ Josephus records an episode which illustrates the feeling towards

¹ *Antiq.* xiii. 354.

² *Antiq.* xiii. 356-64; *Bell. Jud.* i. 86, 87.

³ See pp. 282 ff.

⁴ See p. 287.

⁵ It is true the Levirate law (*Deut.* xxv. 5) lays down that the brother of a deceased man shall marry his widow; but this does not apply to priests. In *Ezek.* xlv. 22 it is expressly said, in reference to the sons of Zadok, 'neither shall they take for their wives a widow'. A traditional law is mentioned in the Mishnah (*Sanhedrin*, ii. 2), where it is said that a king may not marry his sister-in-law, and a widowed queen may not marry her brother-in-law. So that Alexander Jannaeus, as priest and king, would, in the eyes of the Pharisees, have broken the Law on two counts.

⁶ See, further, Additional Note G.

him: at the feast of Tabernacles, Alexander was about to officiate at the altar, when the people in a body rose up and pelted him with the citrons which, together with palm-branches, they brought with them, according to the Law, at the celebration of this feast; insulting shouts were also hurled at him.¹ In ruthless wrath Alexander ordered a massacre of the people; and from henceforth there was the bitterest hatred between him and an ever-increasing portion of the people who followed the guidance of the Pharisees.² When one remembers that it was the orthodox upholders of the Law who were the ardent supporters of the first Maccabaeen leaders, and contrasts with this the entirely justifiable attitude of precisely the same type of Law-loyal people to the present High-priest, one realizes what a change had taken place in the ideals of the Hasmonaeen High-priests.

The attitude of so many of his own people being what it was, Alexander must have found some difficulty in raising troops for continuing his insatiable lust of conquest; hence we can understand that he found it necessary to employ mercenaries; Josephus mentions that 'he maintained foreigners of Pisidia and Cilicia'. With these he recommenced hostilities; he crossed the Jordan and subdued various Arab tribes, placing also the Moabites and Gileadites under tribute; further, he destroyed the strongly fortified place Amathus, which he had captured on a previous occasion. But in attacking the Arabian king Obodas I he was ambushed and barely escaped with his life. He fled to Jerusalem, only to find that his own people were in open revolt against him. Josephus says that there followed six years of civil war, Alexander being able to hold his own only by again employing mercenaries.³ At the end of this time Alexander was evidently exhausted, and sought peace with his people; but they would not hear of it, and with the determination to put an end to him they appealed to one of the claimants to the Syrian throne, Demetrius III, Eukairos,⁴ to assist them.

¹ Josephus omits, however, to mention the immediate cause of the people's anger, namely, that Jannaeus poured the sacred libation on to the ground (Bab. Talmud, *Sukkah*, 48 b).

² *Antiq.* xiii. 372, 373; *Bell. Jud.* i. 88, 89.

³ *Antiq.* xiii. 373; he mentions the mercenaries in the following section.

⁴ He was a son of Antiochus VIII, Grypos, and had made Damascus his capital; he was the last Seleucid to interfere directly in Jewish affairs (Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, ii. 260).

This was in 88 B.C. He was quickly on the spot, and, assisted by the Jewish nationalists, met Alexander in battle at Sichem; Alexander's army consisted of over six thousand mercenaries and those Jews who belonged to his party, in number about twenty thousand; this was not much more than half the number of Demetrius' army. Small wonder, therefore, that Alexander suffered a severe defeat, and was forced to flee to the mountains. Then an unexpected event occurred: a number of Jews in the army of Demetrius deserted, and went over to Alexander. The reason of this, according to Josephus, was that they took pity on him because of his change of fortune; that does not sound convincing when one considers the previously existing relations between them and Alexander; it is more likely, as Schürer suggests, that Jewish national sentiment asserted itself, and that they preferred serving under a Hasmonaean ruler in a free Jewish State to acknowledging the suzerainty of a Seleucid prince.¹ The result was that Demetrius retired to his own country. But the other Jews who had joined his army continued fighting Alexander on their own account; he was, however, now too strong for them, and after several battles had been fought between them to Alexander's advantage, the remainder took refuge in Bethome;² here they were besieged by Alexander, who ultimately captured the place and took the garrison to Jerusalem. Josephus now tells a gruesome story; some truth there must be in it, otherwise he would not try to excuse Alexander by pleading extenuating circumstances. He says of Alexander that 'as he was feasting with his concubines, in sight of all the city he ordered about eight hundred of them (i.e. the Jews who had taken refuge in Bethome, and had been captured) to be crucified, and while they were living, he ordered the throats of their children and wives to be cut before their eyes'. This barbarous cruelty alienated the Jewish soldiers who had left Demetrius' army to join him, 'and they continued fugitives all the time Alexander lived'.³ The orthodox Jews do not seem to have further asserted themselves during the remainder of Alexander's reign; possibly the Pharisees were cowed into quiescence; they must have realized that, with his horde of mercenaries constantly at his beck and call, Alexander's position

¹ *Op. cit.*, i. 282.

² The modern Betuni, on the same height as Nebi Samwil (identified by Furrer); see Schürer, *op. cit.*, i. 282.

³ *Antiq.* xiii. 379-83; *Bell. Jud.* i. 96-8.

was too strong to be assailed by their followers, so many of whom had taken to the mountain districts; or it may be that, in the spirit of the earlier *Chasidim*, the Pharisees resolved to have nothing to do with political affairs; in their eyes Alexander was no true High-priest.

But if the internal affairs of his kingdom were now quiet, Alexander soon found that outside enemies had no intention of leaving him in peace. Antiochus XII, Dionysos,¹ one of the claimants to what was left of the Syrian kingdom, now in its last death-throes, undertook two expeditions against the Nabataean Arabs; on the second of these Antiochus, no doubt for some good reason which is not, however, stated, came down the coastland of Palestine, on his way to meet his enemies; Alexander Jannaeus naturally resented his country being invaded in this way, and hoped by means of an obstacle to bar the march of Antiochus' army. At Chabarsaba, north-east of Joppa, he dug a deep ditch with a rampart on one side of it running to the sea-coast at Joppa; it was a hundred and fifty furlongs in length; this cut across the line of march of the Syrian army. It did not, however, impede Antiochus' advance; he broke through the obstacle and continued his march to Arabia. Battle was joined with the Arabian king, Aretas III; Antiochus was defeated, and was among the slain.² The victory of Aretas reacted adversely on Alexander; for the former now extended his kingdom as far north as Damascus; his dominions were therefore contiguous to Judaeian territory on the south, east, and north-east. His next move was to attack Alexander, and with this purpose he penetrated well into Judaea to a place called Adida, between Joppa and Jerusalem;³ here a battle took place in which the Jewish army was worsted. Alexander thereupon made certain concessions to Aretas which are not specified, and Aretas withdrew from Judaea.

There followed now on the part of Alexander perpetual fighting which lasted for three years (83-80 B.C.); the object of this was to extend farther the borders of his kingdom. He was uniformly successful. He then fell seriously ill through hard

¹ He was another son of Antiochus Grypos; the expedition took place in 86 B.C.

² *Antiq.* xiii. 387-91; *Bell. Jud.* i. 99-102.

³ 1 Macc. xii. 38: 'And Simon also built Adida in the plain country' (i.e. the Shephelah).

drinking; but even this could not stop his insatiable lust of conquest; he went on fighting until, as Josephus says, 'he was quite spent with the labours he had undergone'; ultimately he died while besieging the fortress of Ragaba, east of Jordan in the district of Gerasa (76 B.C.).¹

The victories of Alexander had extended the borders of the Jewish kingdom far beyond what they had been in John Hyrcanus' time. The land now included, according to Josephus' account, the entire sea-coast on the west,² from the border of Egypt to Carmel; in the south, Idumaea, and from there right up to Seleucia by the lake of Merom in the north; on the east, the land extending from the Lake of Merom to the Dead Sea.³

One other matter, which, however, concerns the internal affairs of the land, remains to be mentioned. As we have seen, since the time of John Hyrcanus the ruling circles, headed by the High-priest, had been bitterly antagonistic to the Pharisees and their following among the populace; this continued to be the case during the reign of Alexander Jannaeus. But it is clear, as will be seen, that Alexander realized that the power of the Pharisaic party was of such a character that continued antagonism towards it constituted a real danger to the ruling house. It was, therefore, necessary that they should be conciliated. During his lifetime he had been able, with the help of mercenaries, to keep them in subjection; but there was no guarantee that his successors would be able to do this. So at the very end of his life, when he saw that his death was impending, he adjured his wife, Alexandra, to 'put some of her authority into the hands of the Pharisees . . . for they had power among the Jews, both to do hurt to such as they hated, and to bring advantages to those to whom they were friendly disposed'; he then went on to say that 'it was by their means that he had incurred the displeasure of the nation . . . Promise them also that thou wilt do nothing without them in the affairs of the kingdom.'⁴

This action was very significant; the results of it will come before us later.

¹ *Antiq.* xiii. 398; *Bell. Jud.* i. 106.

² Josephus omits the mention of Askelon; this, as Schürer points out, had been an independent city since 104 B.C., and was recognized as such by the Romans (*op. cit.*, ii. 101).

³ *Antiq.* xiii. 395-7; see also xiv. 18.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 400-4.

4. ALEXANDRA (75/4-67/6 B.C.)

Alexander Jannaeus committed the rule of the kingdom to his wife Alexandra (Salome), and she appointed the elder of her two sons, Hyrcanus, to the High-priesthood. Apart from his being the elder son there was a special reason why Alexandra wished him, rather than his brother, to occupy this office; for, as one of a quiet and retiring disposition, who had no interest in politics, he would gladly leave all mundane affairs in the realm to his mother. Her second son, Aristobulus, was of a very different temperament. There was a further reason in that Hyrcanus was friendly inclined to the Pharisees. At the beginning of her reign Alexandra was on the side of the Pharisees; this was certainly, in part, due to the exhortations of her husband, who had realized, though late in the day, the expediency of being on good terms with those who had paramount influence among the populace; but there can be no doubt that Alexandra, who was of a religious disposition,¹ had herself a personal leaning towards the Pharisees. Josephus lays stress on the fact that at the beginning of her reign she 'restored those practices which the Pharisees had introduced, according to the traditions of their forefathers, and which her father-in-law, Hyrcanus, had abrogated. So she had, indeed, the name of Regent, but the Pharisees had the authority.'² He says, further, that it was the Pharisees 'who restored such as had been banished, and set such as were prisoners at liberty, and in a word, they differed nothing from rulers'.

We are thus met with the important fact that at the beginning of Alexandra's reign the Pharisees exercised, in effect, the functions both of religious and civil rulers, and in regard to each they were invested with judiciary powers. The profound effect which this had on the nation, not only at this time but also in the future, demands that something further should be said about the matter.

To consider their authority in civil and judicial affairs first. It is clear that if the Pharisees had it in their power to restore those who had been banished, and to set prisoners at liberty, they must have been the predominating party in the *Gerousia*, or Sanhedrin. It is only in the Greek period that

¹ She was 'a woman of great piety towards God' (*Bell. Jud.* i. 110).

² *Antiq.* xiii. 408, 409; *Bell. Jud.* i. 110, 111.

we get definite mention of this aristocratic assembly,¹ which was the lineal descendant of the body composed in earlier days of the 'Elders of the people'. The *Gerousia* is mentioned in the time of Antiochus III,² and often in later days;³ at its head figured the High-priest, and of its aristocratic character there can be no doubt; its very name implies this.⁴ It follows, therefore, that, if the Pharisees had become the dominating power in the Sanhedrin, its originally aristocratic character must have become greatly modified, as was indeed the case. That, however, is of secondary importance. The main point to be emphasized is that, with the civil and judicial authority in their hands, the Pharisees were in a position to enforce their religious demands. It must also be noted that, although the Pharisees were in a majority, the High-priestly party were obviously also represented in the Sanhedrin; thus it is that from this time onwards the Sanhedrin consists of the Sadducees and Pharisees, i.e. there was the combination of the aristocratic and democratic elements in the governing assembly so familiar to us in the time of Christ.⁵

Further, it is from this time onwards that through their dominating position in the Sanhedrin the Pharisees, as already indicated, were able to establish more firmly than before their characteristic religious views and practices. In these there was much that was all to the good; the fundamental idea and striving was to reinstate the authority of the ancient Law, as understood and elaborated by the Pharisaic mind, which the influence of Greek thought and culture had done so much to undermine. For this purpose the only right course, it was held, was to retrace the ancient paths in which their fathers of old had trod, and to follow in them again.

The primary source of knowledge here was the written word in the Holy Scriptures which had been handed down in copies renewed from time to time by the Scribes;⁶ but the written word was by no means always clear; nor did its precepts

¹ But cp. Ezek. xlv. 15-31, where it is seen that 'the sons of Zadok' (= the later Sadducees) had spiritual and judicial (verse 24) authority.

² *Antiq.* xii. 138, in the letter of Antiochus to Ptolemy V, Epiphanes.

³ 1 Macc. vii. 33, xii. 35, 36; 2 Macc. i. 10, iv. 44, xi. 27; cp. 1 Macc. xi. 23, xii. 6, xiii. 36, xiv. 20, 28.

⁴ See Schürer, *op. cit.*, ii. 241.

⁵ See, further, Wellhausen, *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, pp. 285 ff. (1901).

⁶ The Scribes belonged mainly, but not exclusively, to the Pharisaic party.

necessarily always suffice for guidance in the changed circumstances and conditions of the times; it, therefore, became necessary for the Scribes not only to be thoroughly conversant with the legal precepts contained in the Scriptures, but also to be able to interpret them and to adapt them, when required, to the needs of the day; in other words, to inculcate practical religion for every day, what to do and how to do it in any given circumstance, and what one should refrain from doing—this, all based in the first instance upon what had been done in the past, was the task which the best elements in Pharisaism sought to accomplish.

At the beginning of the reign of Alexandra, then, the Pharisees, with a sympathetic queen and a pliable High-priest, were the dominant party in the Jewish State. Their teaching became permanently established among the bulk of the people. But their political power made them arrogant and tyrannous. Josephus significantly remarks that the country had peace, 'excepting for the Pharisees'. The trouble that the queen had with them arose through their desire for vengeance on those men who had advised Alexander Jannaeus to murder the eight hundred who had fought against him on the side of Demetrius Eukairos;¹ they wished Alexandra to have these evil advisers put to death; they took the law into their own hands and cut the throat of one of them, named Diogenes, and presently did the same to one or two others. This naturally aroused the anger of the aristocratic Sadducaean party to which these victims of Pharisaic vengeance had belonged. Representations were made to the queen by a deputation headed by her second son Aristobulus. Alexandra saw that it would be wise to conciliate the Sadducaean party so far as she could; they were, therefore, permitted to take possession of some of the fortresses where they could, at any rate, be safe from molestation on the part of the Pharisaic party.² Thus matters remained for the present.

But all internal dissensions were for the time quieted in view of an external danger. Tigranes, the king of Armenia, it was told, was about to invade Judaea; the news of this 'terrified the queen and the nation'. However, the invasion did not take place. While Tigranes was besieging Ptolemaïs Alexandra sent him presents, thereby hoping to avert his further advance; but this was, in any case, prevented, for news was brought to

¹ See p. 293.

² *Antiq.* xiii. 417; cp. *Bell. Jud.* i. 114.

Tigranes that the Romans, under Lucullus, 'were laying waste Armenia and besieging its cities'. Tigranes had, therefore, to hurry back to his own country.¹

Now, on the occasion of the deputation to queen Alexandra, mentioned above, Aristobulus had addressed some words to his mother which were of sinister import; he had made reference to 'a woman who was mad with ambition to reign over them, when there were sons in the flower of their age fitted for it'. That Alexandra submitted to such an insult without punishing the delinquent, though her own son, can only have been because she realized that the Sadducean party, at the head of which he stood, was still too powerful to be offended. Soon after, Aristobulus was sent on an expedition into Syria, no doubt with the object of keeping him occupied elsewhere, but nothing came of it. Aristobulus, in uttering the words quoted, had blurted out what was in his mind; and, as soon as the opportunity occurred when he could safely do so, his words were carried into action. Josephus tells us that 'when the queen was fallen into a dangerous distemper, Aristobulus resolved to attempt the seizing of the government'.² He very soon gathered a great following; the Pharisaic leaders found themselves in a dangerous position, and came with Hyrcanus, the High-priest, to take counsel with the sick queen; she bade them do 'what they thought proper to be done'; they had, she said, 'many circumstances in their favour still remaining, a nation in good heart, an army, and money in their several treasuries'; as for herself, she felt too ill to be occupied with public affairs. But before the leaders had time to concert plans for meeting the danger Alexandra died (67 B.C.); and the dissension between her two sons, which now became inevitable, was destined to have the most far-reaching effect upon the Jewish nation.

5. ARISTOBULUS II (66/5-63 B.C.)

On the death of Alexandra the rightful heir to the throne was her eldest son, the High-priest, Hyrcanus II. But, as we have seen, even before the queen's death her second son, Aristobulus, had determined to seize the throne. This intention he now carried into effect. The rival brothers, with their armies, met at Jericho; here a battle took place, and Hyrcanus

¹ *Antiq.* xiii. 421; *Bell. Jud.* i. 116.

² *Antiq.* xiii. 422.

was defeated on account of many of his troops deserting him and going over to his brother. Hyrcanus fled to Jerusalem. An agreement was, however, brought about, according to which Hyrcanus was permitted to retire unmolested into private life, while Aristobulus took to himself the kingship and the High-priestly office.¹

This arrangement was doubtless to the liking of Hyrcanus, whose mildness of temperament made him averse from and unfitted for the conduct of public affairs. But he was not destined to lead a life of quietude. Aristobulus had an enemy who now comes greatly to the fore in the person of Antipater, or Antipas,² the governor (*strategos*) of Idumaea;³ he made it his business to stir up strife between the brothers. His enmity towards Aristobulus was due partly to fear for himself—he 'was suspicious of the power of Aristobulus, and was afraid of some mischief he might do him',⁴ and partly to his friendship for Hyrcanus, upon whom he exercised a great influence. He stirred up the most powerful among the Jews, we are told, and said that 'it was unjust to overlook the conduct of Aristobulus, who had gotten the government unrighteously, and ejected his brother from it, who was the elder, and ought to retain what belonged to him by prerogative of his birth.'⁴ He sought further to work upon Hyrcanus by representing to him that his life was not safe as long as his brother was in power. Another step which Antipater took was to make a pact with Aretas III, an Arabian (Nabataean) ruler, with whom he was on very friendly terms.⁵ The latter agreed to support Hyrcanus in the event of his seeking to get his own back again. At first Hyrcanus was entirely against taking action; but ultimately Antipater's efforts

¹ That Hyrcanus was deprived of the High-priesthood is clear from *Antiq.* xv. 41, where it is said that Aristobulus took away the dignity of the High-priestly office from his brother; and from xx. 243: '... and he (Aristobulus) did himself both reign and perform the office of High-priest to God.' *Bell. Jud.* i. 121 gives the impression that Hyrcanus retained the office.

² The father of Herod.

³ His father, also named Antipater, had been appointed to this office by Alexander Jannaeus, and his son seems to have succeeded him (*Schürer, op. cit.*, i. 292).

⁴ *Antiq.* xiv. 11.

⁵ The wife of Antipater (Kypros) belonged to an influential family connected with the court of Petra, the residence of the Arabian king, a fact which further cemented the friendship between Antipater and Aretas (*Willrich, Das Haus des Herodes*, p. 14 [1929]); see also Schlatter, *op. cit.*, p. 428, who holds that Kypros belonged to a Jewish family which had settled down in Arabia.

were crowned with success. Hyrcanus, accompanied by Antipater, fled from Jerusalem and journeyed down to Petra. An agreement was come to whereby Aretas was to return with Hyrcanus to Judaea to support his claims by force of arms; as a reward for his help he was to receive back the twelve cities which Alexander Jannaeus had wrested from the Arabians.¹ Action was taken accordingly; but for the present Antipater recedes into the background. Aretas invaded Judaea with an army accompanied by Hyrcanus; a battle was fought (Josephus does not mention where), and Aristobulus was beaten and compelled to flee back to Jerusalem; as a result of his defeat many of his troops went over to Hyrcanus. Then the combined armies under Aretas and Hyrcanus moved against Jerusalem, where Aristobulus was besieged.

In the meantime Pompey, the Roman general, had been advancing victoriously in Asia. In 64 B.C., after having subdued Mithridates, and received the submission of Tigranes, the Armenian ruler, he set up his winter quarters in Antioch, while sending Scaurus into Syria. On the arrival of Scaurus in Damascus he heard of the fighting going on in Judaea between Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, and immediately proceeded southwards for the twofold purpose of compelling peace and gaining some profit for himself. Barely had he set foot in Judaea than envoys approached him from each of the brothers offering 400 talents for his support; Aristobulus offered a further 300 talents to the legate Gabinius; and as Aristobulus was the ruler and the holder of the High-priestly office, and therefore more likely to be in a position to pay, Scaurus supported him, and ordered Hyrcanus and Aretas to withdraw. Scaurus then returned to Damascus, and as soon as Aristobulus was rid of his presence he went after Hyrcanus and Aretas with his army and inflicted a severe defeat on them.²

Pompey himself now came to Damascus (63 B.C.) and cited Aristobulus and Hyrcanus (for whom Antipater acted as spokesman) before him in order to learn the cause of their quarrel. Much wrangling went on, and finally Pompey declared that he would settle the dispute after he had chastised Aretas and his Nabataean Arabians, on his return to Judaea. This was, however, only a pretext; Pompey feared that Aristobulus would raise a revolt against him; in which case, by leaving matters in

¹ *Antiq.* xiv. 18; cp. *Bell. Jud.* i. 126.

² *Antiq.* xiv. 33; *Bell. Jud.* i. 130.

suspense for a little, he intended to avert the danger of being confronted by a hostile army when he returned from punishing the Arabians. As he expected, Aristobulus' movements became suspicious; therefore Pompey, instead of continuing his march southwards, decided to settle matters with Aristobulus, who thereupon fled to Jerusalem, and 'made preparations for war'. Pompey, now supported by Hyrcanus, followed him and besieged him in the strongly fortified Temple *enclave*. After a siege of three months a breach was made in the fortifications and a dreadful slaughter took place; twelve thousand Jews are said to have been put to the sword. Pompey, with his officers, entered into the Holy of Holies, an act prohibited to every one by the Jewish Law; even the High-priest was permitted to go into it only on the Day of Atonement. But everything of value in the Temple was left untouched, and the Temple worship was permitted to continue as heretofore.¹ Jerusalem, however, as Josephus says, was made 'tributary to the Romans'.

Judaea was now added to the Roman province of Syria and was greatly reduced in size; all the coast cities were taken from it, together with Samaria in the north, and all the non-Jewish cities east of the Jordan; but Galilee, Idumaea, and Peraea were still retained. Hyrcanus, no longer king, received the title of Ethnarch, and was confirmed in the High-priesthood over this greatly reduced land;² but the kingship was a thing of the past, and a yearly tribute had to be paid to Rome. Aristobulus, with his children, was carried off to Rome; but his elder son, Alexander, effected his escape from the ship during the journey.

This first direct contact between Jerusalem and Rome had thus reduced the country to a humiliating position; that was inevitable, for the suzerainty of Rome was very different from that of the Seleucids. But in one respect, at any rate, the Jews had reason to be thankful; within his own country, reduced though it might be, Hyrcanus was granted independence. Occasions for friction would have been greatly increased had Roman administration been directly exercised; it was a matter of high importance that there should be a tactful negotiator in the conduct of affairs between the two nations, whereby delicate questions, which were bound to occur, could be amicably adjusted. Hyrcanus himself, it is true, was not such a person;

¹ Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 9.

² *Antiq.* xiv. 73; see also xx. 244; *Bell. Jud.* i. 153.

but he was a pliable instrument in the hands of his friend, Antipater, whom there is reason to believe Pompey had already marked out as a man to be relied upon. The subsequent history shows that he was the real force behind Hyrcanus.

With Judaea as the vassal-state of Rome a new era in Jewish history begins.

Additional Note G

ZECHARIAH xiv. 6-9

IF we may assign to the latter part of the High-priesthood of Alexander Jannaeus 'The Parables' of 1 Enoch (xxxvii-lxxi)—so Charles and others—we have some interesting indications of the trend of thought among the Apocalyptists of the time regarding the personality of the Messiah and of His kingdom. The utter worldliness of the ruling powers convinced these apocalyptic thinkers of the hopelessness of expecting anything good from earthly rulership, and this greatly affected their Messianic outlook. Since they despaired of human rulers, the coming Messianic ruler was conceived of as supernatural; they taught that he had pre-existed from all time, that his place was upon the throne of God, the seat of divine rulership, perfect in goodness and justice. Again, in their pessimistic estimate of a sin-laden world, they insisted that in the coming Messianic era there would be both a new heaven and a new earth—a *new* heaven because the popular eschatological ideas had made heaven too materialistic for the more spiritually minded Apocalyptists—which would last eternally, and that those who should be worthy to partake of the joys of the days of the Messiah would likewise continue everlastingly.¹

It is well to bear in mind that with all the turmoil in the world around them there were not wanting men of deep religious feeling and high ideals who by word and pen encouraged and sustained many among the God-fearing who might otherwise have gone down in despair. One of these, in a passage which belongs in all probability to this time, approximately, describes the new earth, of which Jerusalem is naturally thought of as the centre, in the following words: 'And it shall come to pass in that day that there shall be neither heat² nor cold³ nor frost,⁴ and there shall be one [i.e. unending] day—it is known to Yahweh—not day and night, but (even) at eventide it will be light.⁵ And it shall come to pass in that day that living waters shall go out from Jerusalem;⁶ half of them towards the eastern sea, and half of them towards the western sea; and it shall be (so) in summer and winter.⁷ And Yahweh shall be king over all the earth; in that day shall Yahweh be one and his name one'⁸ (Zech. xiv. 6-9).

¹ 1 Enoch xlvi. 2, li. 3, xlv. 4, 5.

² Reading חום for אור (Wellhausen)

³ Reading with the Sept. and Syr. יקררות for יקררות.

⁴ Reading with the Sept. and Syr. יקררות for יקררות.

⁵ Cp. Rev. xxi. 23-5, and especially xxii. 5.

⁶ Cp. Rev. xxii. 1.

⁷ i.e. there will be no change of seasons, therefore no drought; cp. Rev. xxii. 2 with the whole verse compare Ezek. xlvii. 1-12.

⁸ i.e. in the eyes of the Gentiles as well as of the Jews.

The rest of the passage stamps the writer as strongly nationalist, in spite of his belonging to the circle of the Apocalyptists.¹ When one thinks of the conditions of the times, when even the most spiritually minded of the Jews could see but little that was attractive in their Gentile neighbours, one cannot feel surprised at the somewhat restricted outlook expressed in the rest of this passage (verses 10-21); the more impressive, therefore, is the view of that other section of the Apocalyptists (verses 6-9), who taught that the Gentiles would share with the Jews the blessings of the Messianic times.

Our historical sources give us, comparatively speaking, so little information about religious matters that what has been said will not be thought out of place here.

¹ Upon the whole, though there are exceptions, the Apocalyptists tend to be universalistic rather than particularistic in their mental outlook.

Chapter XXI

RELIGIOUS, SOCIAL, AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS DURING THE GREEK PERIOD

THE attempt has been made to present in general outline an account of the Jewish people during the Persian period; the exiguous data made this difficult; but in the case of the Greek period the difficulty lies rather in the other direction, for there is abundant material; but the handling of it is by no means easy when attempting to give an outline, which is all that can be done here. This applies particularly to religious conditions, because detailed proof is required when it is contended that some particular belief, or superstition, or rite, belongs to this period; and such detailed proof would be out of place here. We shall, therefore, content ourselves with making statements the truth of which must be sought in the works referred to in the footnotes. Economic and social conditions can, however, be more easily dealt with; but here, again, brevity is demanded; to quote fully from the relevant sources, though easy enough, would take up a great deal of space; it will, therefore, suffice if only a few illustrations are given.

I. RELIGION

Something has already been said about the general conditions in the religious sphere during the Greek period;¹ we may, however, supplement this by a brief reference to some elements in the religious and quasi-religious beliefs and practices of the populace which are interesting as showing the mental outlook of the people in general. Upon the whole, the mass of the people, no doubt, observed the rules and ordinances prescribed by the religious authorities; but there is evidence to show that, side by side with this, other elements played an important part in popular belief.

The period was one during which the religions of east and west flowed into one another; it was an age during which beliefs, speculations, superstitions and the like, of a very varied character, impregnated the mental atmosphere of the peoples of the world; ancient cults and rites of a crass and debasing nature which, one might suppose, had disappeared altogether, came

¹ See above, pp. 183 ff.

to the fore once more; and what fascinated the bulk of the peoples was not likely to leave the Jews untouched.¹

Among the various extraneous cults which exercised a strong influence on the Jewish masses, and which had therefore to be 'judaized', were those of Dionysus and Apollo. It is generally recognized that in the celebration of the feast of Tabernacles adapted Dionysiac rites are to be discerned; the *lulab* (i.e. the palm-branch tied with myrtle and willow twigs) and the *ethrog* (citron), are indications of this.² Particularly interesting in this connexion is the feast of *Chanukkah* (1 Macc. iv. 36-59; 2 Macc. i. 9, 10, 11, 19; x. i-8; *Antiq.* xii. 316-25); though instituted in the time of Judas Maccabaeus, the heathen rites, 'judaized', in this festival, had been observed by the Jews during the Greek period, and therefore the mention of them belongs here. Like the feast of Tabernacles, this festival included rites in honour of Dionysus; but besides this there are good reasons for believing that the offerings burned at the doors of the houses and on the streets (1 Macc. i. 55) were adapted from a rite in the cult of Apollo.³ It has also been shown that the *Chanukkah* lamp (cp. *Antiq.* xii. 325) was 'the emblem of the suppression of that cult-form, associated by the heathen with a deity who was essentially oracular', i.e. Apollo; the lamp, an adaptation of the oracle-fire cult of Apollo, was explained as the symbol of the Law.⁴

There can be no doubt that the Jews during this period were so attracted by the Greek festivals that the religious leaders, while acquiescing in their celebration, reinterpreted the rites and adapted them to Jewish ideas.

Among the Jews of the Dispersion, however, the influence of extraneous religions was much more marked.⁵ This is not surprising, both on account of their environment, and also because the restraining and guiding hand of the orthodox

¹ Bertholet, *Das religionsgeschichtliche Problem des Spätjudentums* (1909); Wendland, *Hellenistisch-römische Kultur*, pp. 18 ff. (1912); Gressmann, *Die hellenistische Gestirnsreligion* (1925); Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter*, pp. 473 ff. (1926).

² Wellhausen, *Nachrichten v. d. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* (1905); S. A. Cook, *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the light of Archaeology*, p. 195 (1930).

³ Rankin, *The Origins of the Festival of Hanukkah*, pp. 134 ff., 157 f. (1930); S. A. Cook, *op. cit.*, pp. 179, 203 f. That the Seleucids claimed descent from Apollo was a fact which would not have been without effect here.

⁴ Rankin, *op. cit.*, p. 165; for the full argument see pp. 155-88.

⁵ For many illustrative details see S. A. Cook, *op. cit.*, pp. 215 ff.

religious authorities could not exercise the same influence in the lands of the Dispersion as in Palestine itself.

A word must be said here on the subject of superhuman beings.¹ Belief in angels and their functions goes back to a time long anterior to the Greek period;² it was largely, but by no means solely, due to Persian influence; but an Angelology in the full sense did not develop among the Jews until this period. It was adopted by official Judaism, and arose largely through a mistaken conception of reverence, since it was thought to be derogatory to the majesty of God that He should be directly concerned with the petty affairs of men; it was taught, therefore, that the divine will in regard to such things was performed through the intermediary action of angels.³ This doctrine of divine transcendence was a safeguard against any danger to monotheistic belief so far as official Judaism was concerned. But there was also a popular Angelology, and it is easy to understand that among the masses there would be a danger of angels assuming an unduly important position. In the book of *Tobit*,⁴ for example, an angel acts as intermediary: 'I did bring the memorial of your prayer before the Holy One' (xii. 12, cp. verse 15).⁵ In the book of *Jubilees*⁶ xxx. 20 it is said of the angels: 'We remember the righteousness which the man fulfilled during his life'; this comes dangerously near imputing to angels a divine prerogative;⁷ and, as Bousset says, from utterances of this kind to angel-cult is not a very long way. We do not, it is true, come across any direct indications of such worship during the period under consideration; nor is this to be expected, for had anything of the kind come to the knowledge of the religious authorities every effort would have been made to suppress it;

¹ For a detailed account see Bousset, *op. cit.*, pp. 320-42.

² They occupy, e.g., a prominent place in the theology of Ezekiel and Zechariah. It is in some of the books of the *Apocrypha* and in the Apocalyptic literature, especially the book of *Enoch*, that a developed Angelology appears; but what is recorded in these reflects the thought of preceding generations.

³ e.g. Eccles. xliii. 26: 'Through him his angels prosper, and at his word what he wills is done.' This from Ben-Sira is surprising, as he shows a distinct 'Saducaean' tendency in various passages; it is true the text here is a little uncertain, but that a reference to angels is intended seems probable because the whole passage of which this is the concluding verse is based upon Ps. civ. 1 ff., where verse 9 runs: 'Who maketh his angels of the winds, his ministers of the flaming fire.'

⁴ Approximately of the same date as *Ecclesiasticus*.

⁵ In xi. 14 praise is given not only to God, but 'to all thy holy angels'.

⁶ Slightly later than *Ecclesiasticus*.

⁷ See also *Test. xii Patriarchs*, Levi v. 6, Dan vi. 2, Asher vi. 6.

and therefore it would have been practised in secret; but that the worship of angels was practised *sub rosa*, especially among the Jews of the Dispersion, can hardly be doubted in view of later evidence;¹ it is just the kind of thing which would have appealed to the uneducated classes.

Belief in demons was even more widespread, especially as there was no danger to monotheistic doctrine here. Persian influence played a great part here too; but, as in the case of Angelology, it was during the Greek period that a more developed Demonology came to the fore. This can be seen by many indications in the Apocalyptic literature, and here and there in the Apocrypha.²

Closely connected with demons was magic, whereby their onslaughts could be counteracted.³ But magic ramified into other directions too, and we have, for example, an interesting illustration of a widespread superstition in some little leaden figures found during the excavation at Tell Sandahannah, situated in the Shephelah, the western lowlands of Palestine; these are represented with bound legs and arms, i.e. the *peridesmos*, the binding and knotting of 'sympathetic magic', whereby it was believed that men could fetter and torment their enemies. On the same spot were found limestone tablets containing Greek exorcisms and imprecations; one of them actually mentioned the dreaded *peridesmos*. The writers curse the hand and heart of their enemy.⁴ The leaden images and the tablets all belong to the Greek period.

Indications of a curious blending of religion and magic are to be discerned in some of the psalms belonging, with much probability, to this period. The presence in these of the remnants of magical formulas is shown convincingly by Nicolsky.⁵ These illustrate the popular belief in the efficacy of such formulas used as a prophylactic against the malicious machinations of an enemy; it was evidently held that if written or recited within the holy precincts of the Temple their efficacy would be enhanced.

¹ Bousset, *op. cit.*, pp. 330 f.

² e.g. Tob. iii. 8, 17, vi. 16 ff., viii. 3; Bar. iv. 35; Enoch xv. 9, 11, xvi. 1, xix. 1; *Test. xii Patr.*, Jud. xvi. 1; Issach. vii. 7; Dan. v. 1, 5, 6; Ben. iii. 3, 4.

³ Very instructive is Tob. vi. 16, 17, where it is told how the demon is driven off by the smoke of incense with the heart and liver of a fish burning on it.

⁴ Cook, *op. cit.*, pp. 200 ff., where further details will be found; see also Macalister, *A Century of Excavation in Palestine*, pp. 319 ff. (1930).

⁵ *Spuren magischer Formeln in den Psalmen* (1927); Wheeler Robinson, in the *Encycl. Brit.* xviii. 663 b (14th ed.).

These few details will, then, it may be hoped, give some little insight into the popular beliefs characteristic of this period; that the daily life of the people was often greatly affected by such beliefs and superstitions may be taken for granted.

We turn now to another side of Jewish life during this period.

2. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS

If, as we have seen, there are no sufficient grounds for regarding the Persian period as one of material prosperity for the Jews, there is much to show that during the Greek period a very different state of affairs arose. It was during this period that wealth flowed into the country and economic conditions became more favourable, and this in spite of constant warfare between the Seleucids and the Ptolemys.

A far-reaching effect of Alexander's conquests was an immense expansion of trade and commerce; this resulted in a great increase of material prosperity, and thus brought about economic conditions of a far more satisfactory nature than had been the case during the Persian period. The vastly freer intercourse between the nations made the great trade routes the scenes of incessant activity, with merchants and traders passing to and fro with their wares. To the Jews the main opportunity was offered by the route which ran along the Mediterranean coast through Syria and Palestine to Egypt. Important, too, was the presence of Phoenician settlers in Palestine; the cases of Shechem¹ and Marissa (south-west of Jerusalem)² are not likely to have been isolated ones; such ardent traders, living in the midst of Jewish surroundings, are certain to have aroused emulating zeal among many Jews. Though, as already pointed out, during the earlier part of the Greek period the struggle between the successors of Alexander must have been detrimental to trade and commerce, there is ample evidence to show that by the second half of the third century B.C. the Jews were taking full advantage of the opportunities offered, and that among some classes a rich harvest was reaped. In the *Letter of Aristeas*³ 114, the writer says: 'A great mass of spices, precious stones, and gold is brought into the district [he is describing Judaea] by the Arabs. For the

¹ *Antiq.* xii. 258-64.

² S. A. Cook, *op. cit.*, pp. 202 f.

³ Belonging to a later part of our period, probably about 100 B.C.; although the Maccabean struggle had intervened, what is here described may be regarded as the regrowth of what had obtained prior to this. For a handy English translation of the work see Thackeray, *The Letter of Aristeas* (1917).

country is well adapted for commerce as well as for cultivation, and the city [Jerusalem] is rich in the arts and lacks none of the merchandise that is brought across the sea.'

A few indirect allusions to the increase of wealth occur in the latest parts of the book of *Proverbs*, which belong to the Greek period.¹ Thus the sage insists on the greater value of the possession of Wisdom than of silver and gold:

'The merchandise² of it [i.e. Wisdom] is better than the merchandise of silver,
And the gain thereof than fine gold' (iii. 14).

Evidently the writer had in mind the merchant who made gain through commerce. In ix. 1 ff., again, the description of the house of Wisdom is that of the rich man's dwelling and his mode of living:

'Wisdom hath builded her house,
She hath hewn out her seven pillars;³
She hath killed her beasts; she hath mingled her wine;
She hath also furnished her table.
She hath sent forth her maidens, they cry ⁴
Upon the highest places of the city.'⁵

Agriculture also prospered, and this meant favourable conditions for the agricultural labourer; it would have been no isolated case of which the sage was thinking when he called upon the wealthy landowner to do his duty to the Giver of all good things:

'Honour the Lord with thy substance,
And with the firstfruits of all thine increase;
So shall thy barns be filled with plenty,
And thy fats shall overflow with new wine' (iii. 9, 10).

The picture given in the *Letter of Aristeas* 112 is somewhat overdrawn perhaps, but it shows Palestine to have been a

¹ Prov. i-ix and xxxi.

² The Hebrew word (רָכָוֶה) means 'gain' through merchandise; cp. xxxi. 18 and Isa. xxiii. 3, 18, xlv. 14.

³ There is no mystical meaning here; the seven pillars would be the ordinary number in the house of a rich man, three on either side of the quadrangle, and one at the end farthest from the entrance; the end where the entrance was would have no pillar in order to leave the space there free.

⁴ So the Syriac, Vulgate, and Targum, instead of 'she crieth'.

⁵ For further evidence of the existence of considerable wealth among certain classes during the Greek period see the twelfth book of Josephus' *Antiq.*; in various passages scattered about this book one can see that there must have been considerable wealth in Palestine.

fruitful land: 'Their industry in agriculture is indeed great. For their country is thickly planted with olive trees and is rich in cereal produce and pulse, in vines also, and honey in abundance; fruit trees of other kinds and palms are beyond reckoning with them.'¹

But it is in the *Wisdom of Ben-Sira (Ecclesiasticus)* that we get the fullest knowledge of social and economic conditions; the book belongs to about 200 B.C., and the settled state presupposed implies that quiet times had been normal for some considerable period previously. His words in xxxi (xxxiv) 5, 6 show that there must have been manifold opportunities for acquiring wealth:

'He that runneth after gold will not be guiltless,
And he that loveth gain will go astray thereby.
Many there are who have been entangled through gold,
And they that trust in pearls (have been ensnared).'

Similarly in verse 8:

'Blessed is the man that is found perfect,
That hath not gone astray after mammon.'²

The picture which Ben-Sira gives of the trader suggests a somewhat indifferent ethical standard in his day among those of this calling:

'With difficulty doth the merchant keep himself from wrong-doing,
And a huckster will not be acquitted of sin.
Many have sinned for the sake of gain,
And he that seeketh to multiply (gains) turneth away his eye.
(As) a nail sticketh fast between the joinings of stones,
(So) doth sin thrust itself in³ between buying and selling'
(xxvi. 9-xxvii. 2).

The long section on borrowing and lending (xxix. 1-13) and on going surety (xxix. 14-20, cp. Prov. vi. 1-5) gives a good insight into the private financial affairs among men.

But while there were many who were well-to-do, Ben-Sira shows that there was also much poverty; this may be seen in

¹ A considerable part of the produce, it is true, went in taxation; under the Seleucids a third of the produce of cereals and half the fruits of trees was taken. Besides this there was 'the poll-tax, a special poll or income-tax called a wreath (*stephanos*), and, finally, the salt-tax known to us in Egypt and in Babylonia' (*Cambr. Anc. Hist.* vii. 193 [1928]). In addition there was, of course, the regular contribution for the upkeep of the Temple services and the support of the priesthood.

² See further xiii. 24, xiv. 3-19.

³ The Greek text is a little uncertain; the Hebrew is not extant.

such passages as x. 30, 31, xiii. 21-3, xxxi (xxxiv) 1-4, xl. 28-30.

An interesting picture of various crafts is given in xxxviii. 24-34; and though, as a scribe, Ben-Sira was apt to look down upon such occupations, he recognizes the need of them; his words give some insight into the position occupied by craftsmen in his day; the ploughman, the grazier, the carpenter, the engraver, the smith, and the potter, are all spoken of. Elsewhere he shows the honourable position occupied by the physician (xxxviii. 1-15). Social life among the well-to-do, of which an illuminating picture is given in xxxi (xxxiv) 12-xxxii (xxxv) 13 (cp. xxxvii. 27-31), shows that the good things of this world were made the most of.

A dark side of life, and one which witnesses to an evil Greek influence, is the prevalence of immorality; judging from the number of times reference is made to this it must have been a bad social sore.¹

Characteristic of this period was the existence of organized bands of robbers; a criminal class of this kind was an inevitable result of the mixing up of populations from different parts of the world; temptations to scoundrels from the dregs of society were offered by the frequent journeys of merchants with their wares, and travellers going from place to place. Reference is made to this evil in Prov. i. 10-19, Ecclus. xxxiv (xxxv) 25-7.

But, generally speaking, the evidence goes to show that during the Greek period the access of wealth through trade and commerce brought much material prosperity to the Jews. During the Maccabaeian struggle this, of course, changed; but it is a remarkable thing, and shows an extraordinary economic independence, that the means should have been found to carry on the struggle for so many years. There must have been intense suffering among a great many, but this was compensated for by the conviction that the cause was a righteous one. But even after the victory had been won and the borders of the land had been greatly extended, the policy of the Hasmonaeian rulers did not bring prosperity back again. 'Under the blast of the Jewish conquests, civilization in Palestine withered away. Where there had been prosperous cities were heaps of ruins. Fields went back to brushwood, and roaming bands of marauders had free course

¹ Prov. ii. 16-19, v. 3-23, vi. 24-35, vii. 5-27; Ecclus. ix. 3-9, xxiii. 16-27, xli. 20-2.

in the land. Such a state of things marked the zenith of the Hasmonaean power.¹

But while this is true it must be recognized that in spite of all the unrest, in spite of intermittent warfare with its accompanying destruction and waste, a considerable amount of wealth must still have remained in the country, otherwise it is difficult to understand the existence of general prosperity in the time of Herod. During the period intervening between the advent of Pompey and Herod's accession internal strife can only have made the economic position worse; and although better conditions arose under Caesar, yet the ten years, 47-37 B.C., could not have been sufficient to create the prosperity of Herod's day unless wealth had been previously existing in the country. We shall have occasion to refer again to the material prosperity in the country during Herod's reign.

Additional Note H

JEWISH PARTIES IN PALESTINE

A NUMBER of references are made in this volume to the various parties which existed among the Jews from, approximately, the beginning of the second century B.C. onwards. It will be well to gather together what is said, and also, in as brief a space as possible, to take a comprehensive view of the subject in general.

To call these different bodies of men among the Jews 'sects', as is sometimes done, is misleading; the Sadducees occupied a somewhat different position, but, apart from them, these parties represented varying attitudes of mind, and though they held diverse views both in theory and practice, in some respects they had a great deal in common: they all belonged to one and the same religious community, they partook of a common worship, they shared, in the main, similar beliefs and ideals, and they aspired to serve God and to help their fellow men. To some extent this applied, of course, also to the Sadducees.

We shall deal here with the *Chasidim*, the Pharisees, and the Apocalyptists; a few words will also be added about the Sadducees. We have not had occasion to refer to the Essenes because they stood outside the course of historical events; but inasmuch as they constitute a very interesting phenomenon it has been thought well to devote a special Additional Note to them.

¹ *Jerusalem under the High-priests*, p. 128 (1904); see further, Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 324 ff., 338 ff., 348 ff., 377 ff.

Already in pre-Maccabaeen times the Jews of Palestine were divided between the Hellenists and the Orthodox. Greek culture had affected the majority of the people, some more and some less, with the result that among them traditional customs and beliefs had lost much of their force and appeal. The minority held the more tenaciously to all that had been handed down by their forefathers, especially the Pentateuchal legislation, and here, above all, the portion of it contained in what is known as the Priestly Code.

But the adherents of these two attitudes of thought, respectively, could hardly, as yet, be described as parties in opposition to one another. Hellenism did not assert itself at one stroke among those Jews who were attracted by it; the stage in which definitely formed parties come into being is always preceded by one in which diverse views are combated by individual thinkers around whom a following is gradually formed. The earlier stage may be stated with certainty to have extended from the first half of the third century B.C. to the time of the Seleucid conquest of Coele-Syria, i.e. to the beginning of the second century B.C.; from here onwards the records make it clear that the Jewish nation was divided into two definite parties, stirred by contempt and hatred into mutual antagonism; the Hellenistic party despised the orthodox for its old-world and narrow-minded ideas, the orthodox party hated the Hellenistic party for its disloyalty to the religion of their fathers.

I

Parties usually tend to have among their adherents those of the right, centre, and left wings; whether this obtained in the Hellenistic party we do not know; but it is certain that among the orthodox there was a right wing, the members of which called themselves the *Chasidim*, the 'pious' or 'godly' ones.

It seems evident from the use of the word (in the singular) in some of the post-exilic, but pre-Maccabaeen, psalms¹ that the term was first used in reference to godly individuals, and that from this originated the proper name *Chasidim*, used in a specific sense. At any rate, quite at the beginning of the Maccabaeen struggle they appear as the right wing of a definite party, for they do not, at the outset, join the main body of the orthodox party in resisting the attack on their religion, though it is not long before they feel bound to do so.²

The characteristics of the *Chasidim* are seen clearly in some of the psalms which may, according to the conviction of most modern scholars, be assigned either to the Maccabaeen period itself, or to the preceding century; thus in Ps. cxix, belonging in all probability to the post-exilic, but pre-Maccabaeen period, during which the

¹ e.g. Ps. xxx. 4 (5 in Hebr.).

² See 1 Macc. ii. 42.

Law, in the sense more especially of the Priestly Code, was assuming a predominant position, we find immense stress laid on the sanctity of the Law, and of the joy felt in observing it; this was precisely the characteristic of the *Chasid*; his godliness consisted primarily in observing the precepts of the divine Law, come what might.¹ We see further, from such a psalm as the thirty-seventh, their profound trust in God (verses 28, 29), and how, when faced with the ever-pressing problem of the prosperity of the wicked and the adversity of the righteous, an answer was ready which illustrates this *Chasid* characteristic of trust in God (verses 22-5).²

Again, the willingness of the *Chasidim* to die for the sake of their convictions, illustrated by their action recorded in 1 Macc. ii. 38, is seen further by the words in Ps. lxxix. 1-3, where it is told how the *Chasidim* died in defence of the Temple.³ No psalm depicts more beautifully the characteristic faith and piety of the *Chasid* than the cxvith, see especially verses 12-19: gratitude for the marks of divine mercy combined with a touching sense of unworthiness, together with a longing to show forth this gratitude in the sight of the faithful, is eloquently expressed.

These *Chasidim*, Quietists as they may be called, formed then the extreme section of the orthodox-nationalist party at the outbreak of the Maccabaeen struggle; men who would take no part in the fighting until the position became critical, and even then, rather than break the Law by desecrating the Sabbath, willingly sacrificed their lives. Their ardent desire for peace is seen again in their consenting to submit to the Syrian force because it was accompanied by Alkimus, who was 'a priest of the seed of Aaron'.⁴

As time went on many of the *Chasidim* were drawn by the force of circumstances into becoming fighting men; this may be seen by such a passage as Ps. cxlix. 5 ff.:

'Let the saints (*Chasidim*) exult in glory,
Let them shout for joy upon their beds.
Let the high praises of God be in their mouth,
And a two-edged sword in their hand,
To execute vengeance upon the Gentiles,
And punishment upon the peoples . . .'

On the other hand, there is some reason to believe that the pacific, quietist section of the *Chasidim* continued, and though their name appears to have died out when the Maccabaeen struggle came to an end, it is possible that this section developed into the Essene movement; the identity of meaning in the two names is one of the

¹ See 1 Macc. ii. 38.

² See also Pss. lii and lxxxv, where this invincible trust in God is expressed.

³ Cf. 2 Macc. viii. 2-4.

⁴ 1 Macc. vii. 12-14.

reasons for suggesting this.¹ Apart from this, however, the tenets and ideals of the *Chasidim* lived on in the best elements of what became the Pharisaic party.

II

In turning our attention now to the Pharisees² stress must first be laid upon the fact that it was they who after the Maccabaeal struggle were the upholders of true religion; during the period of the Hasmonaeal High-priests, who cared little for religion, and who used religion for political purposes, during the rule of Idumaeans with their more or less pronounced irreligion, and finally during the Roman régime with its strong anti-Jewish attitude, it was the Pharisees who nourished and kept alive all that was best in Judaism. Whatever faults they may have developed it is but bare justice to record that had it not been for the Pharisees the Jewish religion, with the eternal truths which it taught, would have disappeared.

Josephus says of the Pharisees that they delivered to the people

¹ See, further, below, p. 323; it is also interesting to note that in the *Psalms of Solomon*, written by Pharisees about the middle of the last century B.C., the term *ῥῆσται*, the 'holy' or 'pious ones' (= *Chasidim*), is used, obviously in reference to the Pharisees themselves (x. 7); cp. also xiv. 1-2.

² The name comes from a root (*pārash*) meaning to 'separate' in reference to the fact (so it has been held in the past) that the Pharisees kept themselves separate from all unclean things and persons. Others explain the name from another meaning of the same root, namely, 'to interpret' Scripture, which would make the Pharisees the 'exegetes'. While there is a good deal to be said in favour of these views, the explanation offered by Moore is perhaps the most convincing: 'In the Tannaite Midrash *pārūsh* is frequently associated with *kādōsh*, "holy". In Lev. xi, at the end of the chapter on unclean beasts, fishes, birds, and vermin with which the Israelites are forbidden to defile themselves, this prohibition is enforced by the motive: "For I am the Lord thy God. Hallow yourselves therefore and be ye holy; for I am holy." On this the Sifra: "As I am holy, so be ye also holy; as I am separate (*pārūsh*), so be ye also separate (*pērūshīm*)."' Similarly, on Lev. xix. 2 ("Ye shall be holy, for I, the Lord your God, am holy"); "Be ye separate (*pērūshīm*)." Again, in the Mekilta on Exod. xix. 6 ("Ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests, a holy nation"): "Holy, holy, hallowed, separated from the peoples of the world and their detestable things." Separateness in these contexts is synonymous with holiness in God and in man; the ideal of holiness for Israelites is the ideal of separateness; and it is easy to see how those who made it their end to fulfil this ideal might take its name, *Pērūshīm*, as a less presuming title than *Kedōshīm*' (*Judaism*, i. 61 [1927]). Dr. Edwyn Bevan points out that 'from Rabbinical literature it would seem that, while the people generally called them "Pharisees", the name given within the sect itself to members was *Chabērīm*, "Associates". In this way the Pharisees would be one example of a tendency characterizing the Judaism of the last century B.C.—the tendency to form voluntary religious communities within the Jewish people. When the disciples of John the Baptist, and, later on, the disciples of Jesus, came to form particular communities within Palestinian Judaism, that will not have seemed something altogether novel to other Jews' (private communication).

'a great many observances by succession from their fathers which are not written in the laws of Moses; and for that reason it is that the Sadducees reject them, and say that we are to esteem those observances to be obligatory which are in the written word, but that we are not to observe those which are derived from the tradition of our forefathers'.¹ The reference here is to the oral tradition, the expansion of the Mosaic law, designed by the Pharisees to be the guide and help to the people in all circumstances of life, and to keep them from the Gentile world. In their own observance of the precepts of the Law as handed down, and in the skill they claimed to possess in interpreting the word of Scripture, they took great pride;² that this should, in course of time, have pandered to their self-esteem was natural enough; but it is not to be denied that, as the upholders of the ethical teaching of the Law, and in inculcating this among their followers, they were doing a work of inestimable worth and of permanent value. In addition to this it is important to remember that in their doctrinal teaching they were preserving all that was best in Judaism. First and foremost was their insistence on monotheistic belief in a world in which many diverse gods were worshipped; the Hellenistic tendencies of many among their own people made this the more needful. In their teaching on the future life, again, the Pharisees were doing a work of immense importance; the Greeks, it is true, had their teaching on the same subject,³ but it did not reach the masses in the way in which that of the Pharisees did; besides which, the Pharisaic doctrine of retribution, in connexion with it, and the more pronounced ethical element made its appeal more poignant and effective. To the Pharisees was also due the upholding of personal religion—inculcating the sense of sin, the need of repentance, of grace, and forgiveness. Whether the institution of the synagogue and its worship was due to them is very doubtful; but it is certain that they fostered and developed the synagogal liturgy and thereby spread the conception of spiritual worship.

In later days, as we learn from the Gospels, there was a certain falling away from the high ideals of earlier times. That is the way of humanity; but we have been concerned here only with the Pharisees during the century or so immediately following the time when they appeared as the spiritual descendants of the *Chasidim*; during that time the original *Chasid* spirit dominated them with the results that have been indicated.⁴

¹ *Antiq.* xiii. 297.

² *Antiq.* xvii. 41; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 162.

³ Generally speaking there was a fundamental difference, however, in that the Greeks taught the immortality of the spirit, while the Jews taught the resurrection of the body reanimated by the spirit.

⁴ Illustrations of this will be found in some of the *Psalms of Solomon*.

III

The roots of Apocalyptic go back even beyond the canonical prophets.¹ Its ideas appealed especially to the *Chasidim*, and what we may call an Apocalyptic Movement came into being among them. But it is interesting and important to note that while the Apocalyptists issued originally from the ranks of the *Chasidim* and held therefore orthodox views, they were in some directions influenced by non-Jewish thought; this is not the place to go into details,² but the fact is worth noting.

The Apocalyptists ought probably not to be regarded as a party in the strict sense; they represented an attitude of thought, the foundation of which consisted of speculations regarding the end of the present world-order. They believed that they were the recipients of divine messages, revealed to them in visions; and while they used certain traditional elements they went their own way in other respects.

Since they issued from the ranks of the *Chasidim* they existed as a party before the Maccabaeen struggle;³ but their presence during this struggle must have been of great importance, for they inspired the people with encouragement and hope when these were sorely needed. It is true the conditions of the times—and this applies as well to the two centuries, approximately, after the Maccabaeen struggle—as is abundantly shown by the history, engendered a pessimism among the Apocalyptists which is very comprehensible; a world steeped in wickedness, tyrannical enemies without, and godless leaders within, the nation, induced them to take a dark view of the world in general; so that it is small wonder that they regarded the present world-order as doomed. On the other hand, their deep piety and their invincible belief in the ultimate triumph of good, founded upon their trust in God, brought out another side of their teaching; this held out bright hopes of a Messianic kingdom which would come into being after the world and all its evils were swept away and destroyed; in the message they had to give, these hopes played a great part. The denunciation of evil-doers, and encouragement to the righteous, which was the outcome of their teaching, made the Apocalyptists in a real sense prophets among the people.

Reference has been made to the visions of the Apocalyptists which so often formed the basis of their teaching; this subject demands a little more attention. These visions, when described, often take

¹ It should, however, be pointed out that some notable authorities deny the existence of eschatological thought in Israel prior to the Persian period; opposition to the Gunkel-Gressmann school is taken up, e.g. by von Gall in his profoundly interesting work *Βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ* (1926), referred to above.

² See the present writer's *Hebrew Religion*, part iii, chap. xv.

³ The earliest parts of the *Book of Enoch* are pre-Maccabaeen.

the form of *bizarre* pictures; but to counterbalance this the Apocalyptists again and again gave utterance to words of real beauty and fine spiritual content. An illustration of this is offered in Zech. xiv, a passage which we believe, with many commentators, to belong to the Maccabaeian period. Here the Apocalyptist describes one of the terrors of the 'Day of Yahweh', and he says that God will stand on the mount of Olives and will cleave it in two, so that half the mountain will move northwards and half southwards, leaving a great valley running east and west; and in their terror the people will flee 'as they fled from before the earthquake in the days of Uzziah king of Judah' (verses 4, 5). The strangeness of this picture is paralleled by many in the Apocalyptic books outside the Old Testament Canon. But side by side with it the Apocalyptist utters words well calculated to inspire hope and comfort to those suffering under a cruel tyranny; he says: 'And it shall come to pass in that day, that living waters shall go out from Jerusalem; half of them toward the eastern sea [i.e. the Dead Sea], and half of them toward the western sea [i.e. the Mediterranean]; in summer and winter it will be so. And Yahweh will be king over all the earth . . .' (verses 8, 9).

An Apocalyptic element occurs, too, in some of the Psalms, and it is especially from these that we can see that the Apocalyptists belonged originally to the circles of the *Chasidim*. Thus, in the pre-Maccabaeian section of Ps. lxxxix, viz. verses 19-37 (20-38 in Hebr.),¹ beginning: 'Then didst thou speak in vision to thy saints² (*Chasidim*) . . .,' there is a description of the happiness in the Messianic era, which is one of the most constant themes of the Apocalyptists. Again, the first five verses of Psalm xcvi are pronouncedly Apocalyptic, and verse ten shows that the psalm was written by a *Chasid*. In Ps. cxlv an Apocalyptic note is sounded in verses 10-13, the mention of the *Chasidim* occurring in verse 10. And, to give but one other illustration, Ps. cxlviii resounds with Apocalyptic echoes and shows affinity with the *Chasidim* (verse 14).

Whatever differences of opinion may exist regarding the date and authorship of these psalms, and some others in which similar thoughts occur, it can hardly be denied that they witness to Apocalyptic ideas expressed by *Chasidim*, and thus support our contention that among these latter there were some who may be rightly described as Apocalyptists.

Further, in their piety, in their loyalty to the Law, and in their doctrinal standpoint on essentials, the Apocalyptists had much in common with the Pharisees. Where they differed from these was in their far less rigid attachment to the oral tradition, in their

¹ The rest of the Psalm is probably Maccabaeian, but the section indicated would appear, for reasons which cannot well be indicated here, to belong to the period immediately preceding the Maccabaeian struggle. ² Some MSS. read the singular.

teaching on transcendental Messianism, as opposed to the rather more materialistic ideas of the Pharisees, and in their speculations regarding the end of the present world-order, resulting in a mysticism which was alien to the practical religion of the Pharisees. More deep seated, however, than any of these as causes of difference between the Apocalyptists and the Pharisees was the fact that the former were in some respects subject to extraneous influences; this would have been more especially distasteful to teachers like the Pharisees, who regarded everything outside their necessarily circumscribed purview as unacceptable. Connected with this is the further fact that the, generally speaking, universalistic attitude of the Apocalyptists was naturally in opposition to the particularism of the Pharisees.

That the Apocalyptists had, like the Pharisees, a great following, especially among 'the people of the land' ('*am ha-'aretz*)¹ is certain; in later days these latter were despised by the Pharisees (cp. John vii. 49).

The literature of the Apocalyptists, a good deal of which has come down to us, must at one time have been very considerable; and it is safe to say that it exercised an extended influence through the medium of oral teachers. This is not the place to go into details, but the literary activity of the Apocalyptists shows that, with all their visionary mysticism and with all their other-worldly outlook, there was in their ethical teaching a strong element of practical religion.

To sum up; within the ranks of the *Chasidim* there were to be found Quietists, Legalists, and Apocalyptists, and, later, the modified type of warlike *Chasid*, this last dragged almost against his will by the force of circumstances into taking an active part in fighting the enemies of his religion. By the end of the Maccabaeian struggle the name of the *Chasidim* disappeared; but their various characteristics continued among their spiritual offspring; Quietism especially among the Essenes, Legalism among the Pharisees, Apocalyptic among the Apocalyptists; and in whatever other directions each of these developed along lines of their own, they all exhibited the prime quality to which the *Chasidim* owed their name, viz. religious piety.

¹ This is not the place to enter upon a discussion as to what type of people the '*am-ha-'aretz*' were; that the term referred simply to the uneducated masses is unlikely. It is possible that its application was not always the same, that at different times it was used in reference to different types of men. We have seen that in early post-exilic times its usage varied (see above, p. 87 f.); that may have been the case in later days. The subject is dealt with very fully by Büchler, *Der galiläische 'am-ha-'arez* (1906); see also Schürer, *op. cit.*, ii. 454 ff.; Friedländer, *Die religiösen Bewegungen . . .*, pp. 78-113 (1905); Montefiore, *The Synoptic Gospels*, i, pp. lxxv ff., xcix (1909), and *Rabbinic Literature and Gospel Teachings*, pp. 3-15 (1930).

IV

Of the Sadducees, whose name,¹ like that of the Pharisees, emerged as that of a party only after the Maccabaeen struggle, it is not necessary to say much. Their teaching had no permanent effect on the Jews or Judaism. Whatever influence they possessed was due solely to the position of authority they had inherited from the older priestly aristocracy. Owing to this the oversight and direction of the Temple worship was in their hands. The High-priest was also head of the Sanhedrin. Being the rulers, and therefore brought into frequent touch with the authorities of the suzerain power, they became the leaders of the Hellenistic party.

As forming the party of the aristocrats, the Sadducees despised the democratic Pharisees, with whose piety Sadducaean worldliness stood in strong contrast; their opposition to the Pharisees was only strengthened in face of the following among the masses which they had.

The religious attitude of the Sadducees, such as it was, favoured conservatism; they represented in this respect the ancient position and therefore repudiated the newer standpoint of the Pharisees regarding such things as the oral law and belief in the resurrection. Their religious formalism was the antithesis both of the ardent personal religion, as inculcated by the Pharisees, and of the mysticism of the Apocalyptists. The very fact that their religion was largely subordinated to politics made the chasm between them and the Pharisees unbridgeable.

With the destruction of the Temple in 70 A.D. the Sadducees disappeared from history.

The sect of the 'sons of Zadok', the members of which settled in Damascus some time during the Maccabaeen period, had nothing to do with the Sadducees.

¹ The Hebrew form, *Zaddūkim*, is in all probability derived from the personal name Zadok, i.e. the Zadok who was made the chief priest in place of Abiathar by Solomon (1 Kgs. ii. 35), and whose family had exercised the priestly functions from the time of David (1 Chron. v. 27-41, xv. 11, xvi. 30, 40) to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. The Sadducees were, therefore, the descendants of this Zadok, together with their followers. On the other hand, Moore has some words on the subject which are worth quoting: 'In the *Aboth de R. Nathan* (c. 5) it is narrated how the twin heresies of the Sadducees and the Boethusians about retribution after death started in the schools of two disciples of Antigonus of Socho, named respectively Zadok and Boethus. They reasoned that Antigonus would never have exhorted men to serve God without hope of reward if he had believed that there was another world and a resurrection of the dead. The existence of such an explanation shows that it had not occurred to the Jews to connect the name with the Zadokite priesthood. The possibility remains that the party, or sect, perpetuates the name of some (to us) unknown founder or leader' (*op. cit.* i. 69 f.).

THE ESSENES:¹ THE THERAPEUTAI

I

THE meaning of the name Essenes is, in all probability, the 'pious ones',² and, if so, they must originally have been identical with the *Chasidim*. As a separate organization we hear of them for the first time about the middle of the second century B.C.;³ but they must have existed for a considerable time before this.

They were organized as a distinct order and kept themselves as far as possible from the outside world; a social community seeking, by their isolation from all contaminating influences, spiritual exaltation. Their renunciation of all that the world had to offer and their constant exercise of self-control were the means of attaining perfection and holiness. Ascetic in their habits, they renounced all possessions individually and had all things in common.⁴ It is small wonder that their exemplary manner of life excited the admiration of Pliny;⁵ his knowledge of them shows that their fame had spread beyond the confines of Palestine.

Though small communities of them were to be found in every city of Palestine, as well as in the country districts,⁶ there is not sufficient evidence to show that they were settled in other lands.

Their main, though not exclusive, occupation was agriculture; Josephus says that they restricted themselves to this;⁷ but inasmuch as we read of their living in many cities, and of their travelling from city to city, this must not be taken too literally.

Any one seeking to join their ranks had first to undergo a year's novitiate; after that he received partial admission during a period of two years, then, provided he had shown himself worthy, he attained full membership.⁸ With this account, however, one must read another reference to the subject in Josephus, where he says that after the probation period is over they are divided into four grades.⁹ These notices are somewhat ambiguous; but, as Lightfoot points out, a comparison between the two passages shows that the 'two years' comprise the period spent in the second and third grades, each

¹ Our sources are: Philo, *Quod omnis probus liber sit*, chaps. xii, xiii (ed. Cohn and Reiter [1915]), and isolated references elsewhere in his works; and the Philo fragments preserved by Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evang.* viii. 10, 11, 19; Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* ii. 119-61, *Antiq.* xviii. 18-22, and incidental notices elsewhere in these; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 17.

² From the Aramaic ܥܣܝܢܐ: plur. ܥܣܝܢܐ emphatic state ܥܣܝܢܐ equivalent to the Greek 'Εσσαῖοι.

³ *Antiq.* xiii. 171, cp. 310; *Bell. Jud.* i. 78.

⁴ Philo, *Quod omnis probus liber sit*, § 12. ⁵ *Hist. Nat.* v. 17; cp. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 122.

⁶ Pliny says that they inhabited the wilderness bordering on the Dead Sea, near Engedi and Masada (v. 17).

⁸ *Bell. Jud.* ii. 137, 138.

⁷ *Antiq.* xviii. 20.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 150.

extending over a year. After passing through these three stages in three successive years, he enters upon the fourth and highest grade, thus becoming a perfect member.¹

The *insignia* of membership were an axe, a girdle, and a white garment.² All the members were subject to the overseers (*ἐπιμεληταί*), to whom strict obedience was accorded.³

A curious inconsistency is to be noted in that while swearing was forbidden, since the word of an Essene was of more force than an oath,⁴ yet, before becoming a full member of the community, the novice was obliged to take tremendous oaths.⁵

In general they practised celibacy,⁶ but there seem to have been exceptions.⁷ They received the children of people not belonging to their order for the purpose of bringing them up in wisdom and piety, and of instructing them in the rules and tenets of Essenism; in this way recruits were gained apart from those who joined in maturer years. Their numbers are stated both by Philo and Josephus to have been four thousand; this strikes one as surprisingly small considering the influence they seem to have exercised, and the many centres in which they were congregated.

Since they had all things in common no Essenes kept slaves;⁸ such an anti-slavery attitude is a remarkable phenomenon when one thinks of the universal custom of the times. Not less striking was their hatred of war,⁹ though, like the *Chasidim*,¹⁰ there were occasions on which they felt compelled to fight.¹¹ Their piety and quietism are so reminiscent of similar qualities among the *Chasidim*, that, as hinted above, the possibility of some close connexion between the two originally seems probable.

II

Among the *religious practices* of the Essenes we may first mention their lustrations. At the end of the year's novitiate, during which the novice remained outside the brotherhood, he was brought in closer touch with it by the purifying water.¹² Again, every day, before partaking of their first meal, the Essenes purified their bodies in cold water.¹³ And once more, contact between a senior member and one of lower grade necessitated a bath on the part of the former, as though he had been polluted by touching an alien.¹⁴ Since water was thus regarded as effecting both inner—it converted the ordinary man into an Essene—and outer purification, these lustrations must

¹ *Ep. to the Colossians*, p. 365 (1884).

³ *Ibid.*, 134.

⁶ Philo, in Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* viii. xi. 14-16; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 17; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 120, 121.

⁹ *Bell. Jud.* ii. 135.

¹² *Ibid.*, ii. 138.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 135.

⁷ *Bell. Jud.* ii. 161.

¹⁰ 1 Macc. ii. 42.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 139.

² *Bell. Jud.* ii. 137.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 139-42.

⁸ *Antiq.* xviii. 21.

¹¹ *Bell. Jud.* ii. 567, iii. 11.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 150.

have been thought of as partaking of a sacramental character, and therefore they come under the head of religious practices.

Of a sacramental character, too, was the daily sacred meal.¹ That this is justifiably called a sacred meal is shown by the fact that Josephus compares their refectory with a sacred shrine. Preparatory to the meal, as we have said, there was a lustration, and a festal garment was worn. Nobody could partake of food until a priest had offered prayer, and all had praised God; similarly, after the meal he offered prayer again, and praise was given to God the bestower of all sustenance;² the food itself was prepared by priests of the order.³ Silence was preserved during the meal, and to any one outside the refectory this solemn silence within appeared like some sacred mystery.⁴

As to their worship, Josephus says but very little; Philo, however, gives us more details; they gather together, he says, in sacred places which are called synagogues, on the seventh day; here they sit with reverent demeanour, the younger members behind the elder; a reader reads from one of their sacred books, and another interprets the difficult passages.⁵

Josephus also says that they observed the seventh day strictly, even more strictly than any other Jews.⁶ Further, he tells us that they sent offerings to the Temple, but that they did not offer sacrifices there, on account of which they were excluded from the Temple; on the other hand, they had their own sacrifices which they offered in their sanctuaries.⁷ This last point does not agree with what Philo says on the subject; according to him they offered no sacrifices, seeking rather to sanctify their *intellect* (*διάνοια*).⁸ There is no doubt that Josephus is somewhat ambiguous here, and the probability is that Philo represents the true facts of the case.

As to the sacred books of the Essenes, Josephus' words about their veneration for 'their legislator' ⁹ is sufficient to show that the Pentateuch was the foremost among those; this is supported by Philo when he says that they constantly read the ancestral laws.¹⁰ But in addition to this it is clear that they possessed a number of other sacred books of a very different character. Josephus speaks of their ancient writings, which contained, among other things, recipes for bodily ailments to be obtained from roots, and much concerning

¹ That the underlying idea of this meal was communal fellowship and spiritual union with God, mystically present, seems highly probable; Bousset also holds this view (*Die Religion des Judentums* . . ., p. 460 [1926]).

² *Bell. Jud.* ii. 129-31.

³ *Antiq.* xviii. 22.

⁴ *Bell. Jud.* ii. 133; Philo, in Eusebius, viii. xi. 5; Bousset points out that Philo's words are reminiscent of the language of the Mysteries (*op. cit.*, p. 460).

⁵ *Quod omnis probus liber sit*, § 12.

⁶ *Bell. Jud.* ii. 147.

⁷ *Antiq.* xviii. 19.

⁸ *Quod omnis probus liber sit*, § 12.

⁹ *Bell. Jud.* ii. 145.

¹⁰ *Quod omnis probus liber sit*, § 12.

stone lore;¹ others appear to have had magical texts in connexion with the names of angels;² while yet others gave instruction as to how to make predictions.³ That these were regarded with high veneration is evident from the oath which novices had to take not to divulge their contents. So far as is at present known none of these books is extant.

III

Coming now to the doctrines and beliefs of the Essenes, we notice first their belief in the *immortality of the soul*. Josephus writes on this as follows: 'They have the fixed conviction that their bodies are corruptible and that there is no permanence of the substance whereof they are made; but that the souls are immortal and continue for ever, and that they came forth from the finest ether, having been enclosed in their bodies as in a prison-house into which they are drawn as by some natural force; but when once they are liberated from the bonds of the flesh they rejoice as though freed from a long bondage, and rise upwards. The good souls—this is their belief like that of the Greeks—have their abode beyond the ocean, a place which is not oppressed by rain or snow or heat, but is refreshed by a gentle zephyr of the west wind coming from the ocean. But to the wicked there is allotted a dark and noisome cavern, and unceasing torments . . . It is through these doctrines of theirs concerning the soul that all who have once tasted of the wisdom of the Essenes are irresistibly attracted.'⁴

In one very brief sentence Josephus says that the Essenes ascribe all things to God.⁵ This must be read in the light of the only other passage in which the subject is, all too briefly, dealt with, viz. *Antiq.* xiii. 172, where, in contrast with what the Pharisees taught, he says that the Essenes hold that *fate governs all things*, and that nothing happens to man but what has been predetermined. It is to be regretted that we have no further details regarding this subject.

Similarly, we have but a glimpse and nothing more of the fact of Essene *belief in angels*. Quite incidentally Josephus refers to 'the names of the angels'⁶ occurring in the sacred books of the Essenes; when one remembers the great development in Angelology which took place during the second century B.C., as seen, e.g. in parts of the *Book of Enoch*, it is evident that the Essene doctrine of angels must have been of considerable interest.

Since, as we have seen reason to believe, the Pentateuch was reckoned among the sacred books of the Essenes, the *observance of the Law* must have played a part in their religion; but to what extent this was the case we do not know. What is certain is that they felt

¹ *Bell. Jud.* ii. 136.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 154-8; cp. *Antiq.* xviii. 18.

² *Ibid.*, 142.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 18.

³ *Ibid.*, 159.

⁶ *Bell. Jud.* ii. 142.

themselves free to exercise their judgement as to what was and what was not binding; thus, on the one hand, they practised lustrations, observed the Sabbath, and in their brotherly love were greatly influenced by the Deuteronomic legislation; on the other hand, they repudiated the sacrificial system. It may also be taken for granted that they did not accept the Oral Law. If one may judge from their tenets and practices in general, so far as these are known, the probability is that the Essene conception of the Law was spiritual, and that the cleansing of the inner man was regarded as of higher importance than external observances.

In spite of Josephus' quite definite words, there is a difficulty in believing that the Essenes were sun-worshippers; his words are: 'For before the sun rises they speak of no profane matters, but offer to it certain prayers which they received from their fathers, as though beseeching it to rise'.¹

In spite of some strikingly non-Jewish elements in their beliefs and practices, the Essenes were Jews, and their sect consisted of none but Jews; sun-worship was so utterly contrary to the monotheistic belief of the Jews that one may well ask how it could have come about that the Essenes worshipped the sun; the *origin* of such a thing is what strikes one as puzzling. That the Essenes were subject to extraneous influences is obvious, though we doubt whether these were other than Hellenistic; but the kind of Hellenistic influences absorbed by them were not such as would encourage sun-worship. There is point in Schürer's remark that the words quoted above are not intended to be understood in the sense of *adoratio*, but in that of *invocatio*; though, as he adds, 'even this *invocatio* (note the words, "they offer to it certain prayers") is startling in the mouth of Jewish monotheists because at the base of it there seems to lie the conception, alien to Jewish thought, that the sun was the representative of the divine light'.² At the same time, it may not be inappropriate to recall St. Francis of Assisi's 'Hymn to the Sun', where he says: 'Be praised, O Lord, with all thy creatures, especially *messor* brother sun, who gives the day, and by which thou showest thy light. It is beautiful and shines with great splendour; of thee, Most High, it is the symbol'.³ It is realized that this is not strictly parallel since the whole hymn is addressed to God; but it does show how words,

¹ Πρὶν γὰρ ἀνασχεῖν τὸν ἥλιον οὐδὲν φθέγγονται τῶν βεβήλων πατρίους δέ τινας εἰς αὐτὸν εὐχάς, ὥσπερ ἱκετεύοντες ἀνατεῖλαι. (*Bell. Jud.* ii. 128).

² *Op. cit.* ii. 666.

³ Laudato sie, mi signore, cum tucte le tue creature,
spetialmente messor lo frate sole,
lo quale jorna, et illumini per lui;
Et ellu è bellu e radiante cum grande splendore;
de te, altissimo, porta significatione.

(Quoted by Paul Sabatier, *Vie de S. François d'Assise*, p. 349 [1894]).

if one is bent on interpreting them in a certain way, can be pressed into meaning something which cannot have been originally intended. Perhaps the statement of Josephus rests on a misunderstanding of this kind.

IV

THE THERAPEUTAI

A few words must be added about this sect, which resembled that of the Essenes in many ways, though the two were entirely distinct.¹ The name means both 'Healers' and 'Worshippers' or 'Devotees'.

Though scattered all over the world, as Philo says, their main settlements were in Egypt, on the shores of Lake Mareotis, not far from Alexandria.² They lived a semi-monastic life, each member dwelling in a little hut; small communities were thus formed which were separated, but not far, from each other. The order embraced both men and women; celibacy and virginity were highly honoured, though not indispensable.³ They renounced all their worldly possessions in order to live a life of solitude in the contemplation of holy things, and in order that they might thereby be healed of every disease of the soul.⁴

In each dwelling-place there was a holy chamber (*semneion*); here the day was spent in solitude, the devotee meditating upon divine things, and studying the Holy Scriptures, seeking in these an allegorical interpretation of all that he read. Sunrise and sunset were the times for prayer.

The *Therapeutai* were vegetarians and extremely ascetic;⁵ their food consisted of bread and salt, to which hyssop was sometimes added.⁶

On the Sabbath they met together in a place for common worship; the men being separated from the women by a partition.⁷ The form of worship seems to have been similar to that of the synagogue.

Peculiar to the sect was the special festival of every forty-ninth, or fiftieth, day.⁸ On these occasions they dressed in white garments, and assembled together to partake of a sacramental meal; this was followed by addresses given by the elders, and hymns were sung. After this came the night festival during which antiphonal singing and sacred dancing took place.⁹

In their beliefs they held firmly to the Jewish religion of the fully orthodox type.

¹ Our knowledge of them is derived from Philo's writing *De Vita Contemplativa* (περὶ βίου θεωρητικοῦ, ἡ ἱκετών). It is now generally recognized as being the genuine work of Philo.

² *De Vit. Con.* § 3.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, § 2.

⁵ *Ibid.*, § 4.

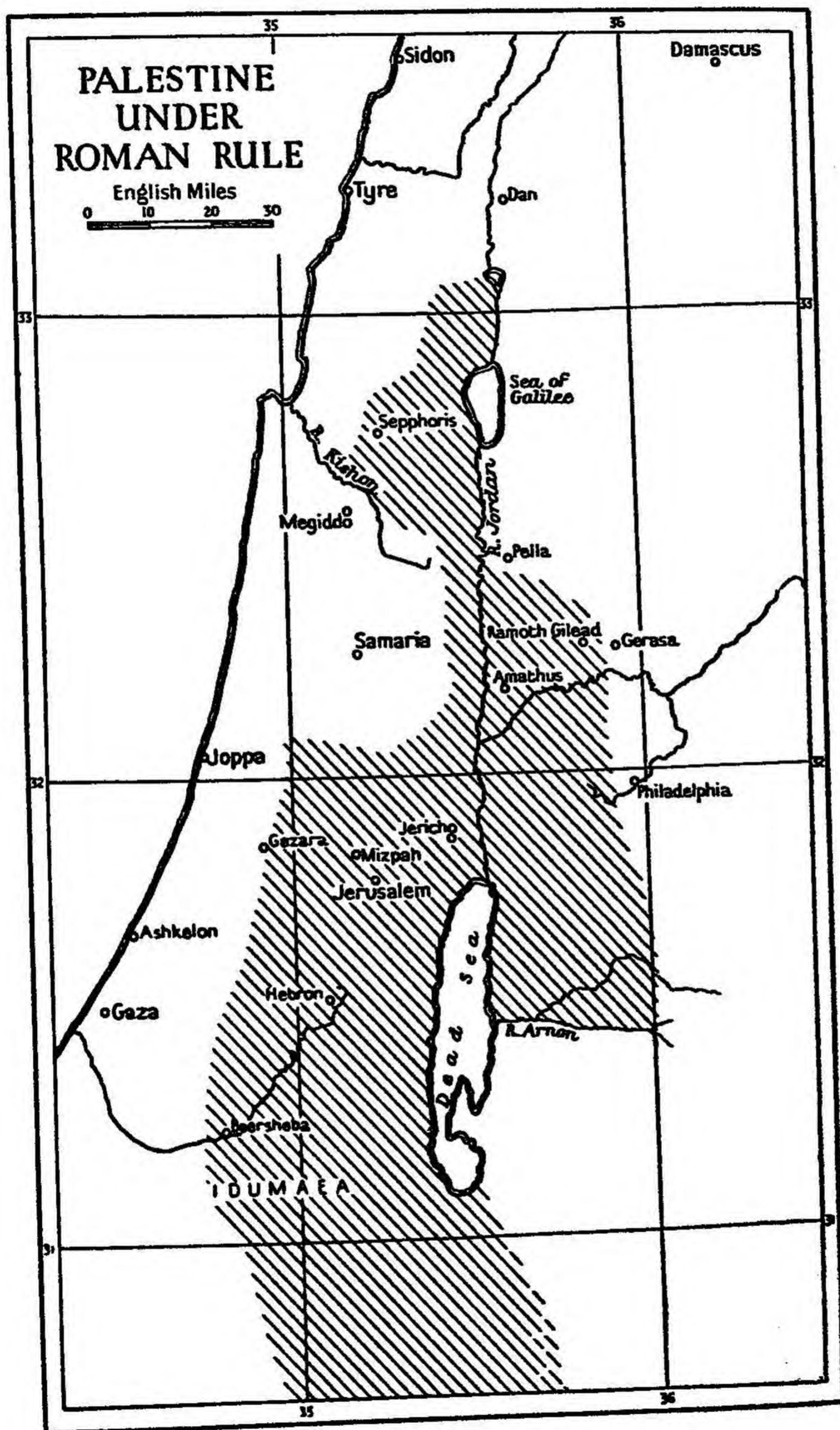
⁶ *Ibid.*, § 9.

⁷ *Ibid.*, § 3.

⁸ *Ibid.*, § 8.

⁹ *Ibid.*, § 10.

BOOK IV
THE ROMAN PERIOD



Chapter XXII

HYRCANUS II

SUMMARY

[Judaea under Roman domination was greatly reduced in extent, and incorporated into the Roman province of Syria. In Hyrcanus was vested, however, both civil and religious authority.

When Gabinius became proconsul of Syria, in 57 B.C., one of his first activities was to protect Hyrcanus against another aspirant to the High-priesthood, in the person of his nephew Alexander (son of Aristobulus). Although Alexander was defeated, Hyrcanus had to suffer for his nephew's wrong-doing by being deprived of the civil rulership. Soon after Aristobulus himself appeared to urge his claims; but though he met with a good deal of support, his army was scattered by the Roman forces, and he was sent as prisoner to Rome. Somewhat later, when Gabinius was fighting in Egypt, Alexander made another attempt; this time not merely to gain the High-priesthood, but also to reign independently of Rome. Gabinius, who had all through been assisted by Antipater, Hyrcanus' right-hand minister, soon defeated Alexander. Antipater, though Hyrcanus' subordinate, was virtually ruler of the land.

The proconsulship of Crassus was marked by an act which deeply offended the Jews, namely the plundering of a large part of the Temple treasury; what the immediate consequence of this was is not recorded, but, in any case, it added fuel to the fire of hatred for Rome which glowed in the hearts of the Jews.

Caesar's relations with the Jews, largely owing to the far-seeing policy of Antipater, were very cordial, and, for the time being, assuaged Jewish bitterness. During all these years the forceful figure of Antipater appears to great advantage, but the fact of his being an Idumaean made him disliked by the Jews. He was greatly trusted by Caesar, and, as procurator of Judaea, he was the real ruler of the land, Hyrcanus being a mere figure-head. Antipater fully realized the feelings entertained for him by the Jews, and his task of governing Judaea was a difficult one; but he was ably supported by his two sons, Phasaël and Herod.

Affairs in Judaea were overshadowed by the struggle between the partisans of Pompey, though he was no longer living, and by those of Caesar; the assassination of the latter in 44 B.C. changed the whole state of affairs. Misrule in Syria left the country in a grave state of anarchy. Antipater was murdered, but soon revenged by Herod. Dangers threatened Hyrcanus, but he was now supported by Herod, and their friendship was cemented by Herod being betrothed to Mariamne, the grand-daughter of Hyrcanus.

The victory of Antony and Octavian at Philippi (42 B.C.) again changed the whole face of things. The different parties among the Jews all sought the favour of Antony, who ruled in the eastern parts of the empire. As the result of intrigues and fighting, Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, obtained the throne of Judaea and the High-priesthood; these he gained by the help of the Parthians, who had invaded Syria, and who, through Antony's inertia, had become masters of the land. Herod's position appeared hopeless; his one hope lay in help from Rome, and this he managed to obtain; he was appointed king of Judaea, and Samaria was added to his dominions. It was for him now to gain his kingdom by defeating and ousting Antigonus, the enemy of Rome; this was not an easy task, but Herod accomplished it; he became actual, as well as nominal, king in 37 B.C.]

I. THE FIRST YEARS OF ROMAN DOMINATION

As already pointed out, the first consequence of Roman domination, so far as Judaea was concerned, was a very drastic limitation of the borders of the land. All the Hellenistic cities of Coele-Syria which had been conquered by John Hyrcanus and Alexander Jannaeus were freed from the Jewish yoke. Apart from Judaea, as this had existed before the Maccabaeen rising, all that was left, as we have seen, were those districts in which a preponderating Jewish population dwelt: Gazara, the eastern part of Idumaea, the southern districts of Samaria, a considerable part of Galilee, and a narrow strip of land along the left bank of the Jordan. As compared with the extent of territory ruled over by the Hasmonaeen princes this was a very modest domain.¹

The Romans, who had entered into the heritage of the Seleucids, regarded Judaea merely as a part of the Seleucid realm which had, for a brief space, asserted its independence. It was now, therefore, incorporated in the Roman province of Syria; Scaurus was appointed governor by Pompey,² who at the same time restored both the High-priesthood and the civil rulership to Hyrcanus (63 B.C.), 'in gratitude for his services, and chiefly because he had restrained the Jews of the country from taking up arms for Aristobulus'.³ In regard to the internal affairs of Judaea Hyrcanus suffered no interference from the Roman power; but he had to pay tribute to Scaurus, and there were

¹ *Antiq.* xiv. 74-6; *Bell. Jud.* i. 155-7; see also Willrich, *Das Haus des Herodes*, p. 17.

² 'Pompey entrusted Coele-Syria, as far as the river Euphrates to Egypt, to Scaurus, with two Roman legions' (*Antiq.* xiv. 79).

³ *Antiq.* xiv. 73; *Bell. Jud.* i. 153.

various other imposts which must have fallen heavily on the Jews. 'Within a short time', says Josephus, 'the Romans exacted from us over ten thousand talents.'¹ Nevertheless, in regard to the country as a whole, Pompey must be looked upon as a benefactor rather than as a tyrant; for the state of Palestine had become anarchic, the playground of adventurers. The interest which our Jewish sources show in their princes must not blind us to the fact that reigns such as that of Alexander Jannaeus were bound to ruin a country. Justin (XL. ii. 4) speaks of the robberies of Jews and Arabs; Strabo praises Pompey, because he did away with the robber-bands and ill-gotten gains of the tyrants.² Hyrcanus II himself accuses his brother Aristobulus of plundering by land and by sea.³ Thus Syria had become a prey to self-seeking robbers, and it was Pompey who purged the land of them, at any rate for the time being.

One of the first things which occupied Scaurus, after Pompey's return to Rome as Imperator, was to undertake the campaign against the Nabataeans which Pompey had contemplated, but which he had postponed for reasons which have been pointed out.⁴ This began unfortunately for the Romans; the country to which they came was difficult for military operations, and the army was short of food. It was Antipater who saved the situation for Scaurus; for he sent provisions on behalf of Hyrcanus, and then acted as mediator. Through his friendship with Aretas, the Nabataean king, he was able to induce the latter to promise Scaurus three hundred talents on condition of his retiring; Antipater himself went surety for the money, and Scaurus withdrew his troops.⁵ The episode did not affect the Jews; it is only mentioned here because, in view of events soon to occur, any enemy of the Romans in the vicinity of Palestine would be regarded as so much to the good by those who were going to challenge Roman supremacy.

There followed now a few years' peace, but no record is forthcoming from which any insight can be gained of the trend of affairs within Judaea; from the sequel, however, we may be certain that during these years of apparent quiet troubles were fermenting; hatred of the Roman yoke was natural enough; but, apart from this, it was soon to be seen that the adherents of the family of the former High-priest, Aristobulus, were on the watch.

¹ *Antiq.* xiv. 78.

² *Τὰ ληστήρια καὶ τὰ γαζοφυλάκια τῶν τυράννων.*

³ *Antiq.* xiv. 42, 43.

⁴ See above, p. 301 f.

⁵ *Antiq.* xiv. 81; *Bell. Jud.* i. 159.

2. GABINIUS PROCONSUL OF SYRIA

In 57 B.C. Aulus Gabinius became proconsul of Syria, and he was almost immediately called upon to protect Hyrcanus against an aspirant to the High-priesthood.¹ Mention was made above of how Alexander, the elder son of Aristobulus II, escaped from the ship which was taking him and his relatives to Rome. It was he who now appeared upon the scene, and that his family had a considerable following in Judaea is evident from the number who flocked to him; 'he went all over the country round about, and armed many of the Jews, and suddenly got together ten thousand armed footmen, and fifteen hundred horsemen, and fortified Alexandrium, a fortress near to Corae and Machaerus, near the mountains of Arabia.'² Gabinius first sent a detachment under Mark Antony against him, and soon followed himself with the main army. A battle was fought in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, the soldiers of Hyrcanus fighting side by side with the Roman soldiers; Alexander was beaten, and fled to Alexandrium.³ Here he was besieged by Gabinius; the siege seems to have lasted a considerable time; ultimately, Alexander surrendered and was taken prisoner. But his mother, who was a friend of the Romans, interceded for him; and, on the other fortresses which had been under his command being delivered up, Alexander was allowed to go free;⁴ it was an act of ill-advised clemency, as the sequel was to show.

It is clear that Gabinius regarded this attempt on the part of Alexander as serious; but it was hard on Hyrcanus that he was the one to be mainly hit by the measures that Gabinius now took. For the civil rulership was taken from him, the High-priesthood alone being left to him; in addition, the country was divided into five districts, each of which was under its own administration; the words of Josephus are:

'After this Gabinius reinstated Hyrcanus in Jerusalem and committed to him the care of the temple; but he ordained that the civil administration should be on the lines of an aristocracy. He divided the whole nation into five conventions,⁵ assigning one to Jerusalem,

¹ Josephus does not say in so many words that Alexander was seeking the High-priesthood, but he seems to imply it when he says of Gabinius that he 'particularly made war with Alexander, since Hyrcanus was not yet able to oppose his power' (*Antiq.* xiv. 82; cp. *Bell. Jud.* i. 160, 161). ² *Antiq.* xiv. 83; *Bell. Jud.* i. 161.

³ In the Jordan plain (*Schürer, op. cit.* i. 297).

⁴ *Antiq.* xiv. 90; *Bell. Jud.* i. 168.

⁵ *Σύνεδοι* in *Antiq.* xiv. 91; *συνέδρια* in *Bell. Jud.* i. 170.

another to Gadara,¹ another with Amathus² as the centre of government, a fourth to Jericho, and the fifth to Sepphoris, a city of Galilee. So the people were glad to be thus freed from monarchical government, and were governed for the future by an aristocracy.³

No doubt the dividing-up of the country into these five districts had for its main object the facilitating of the collection of tribute; but it is possible, in view of Alexander's attempt to seize the power, which was the cause of Gabinius taking action, that the division had also a political object, namely, that of making it more difficult for any further attempt of a similar character to succeed. Nevertheless, such an attempt very soon took place. It was the former High-priest, and brother of Hyrcanus, Aristobulus, who now appeared with his other son, Antigonus, on the scene. They had both escaped from Rome, and on their arrival in Judaea immediately found considerable support, notably from Jerusalem itself; for Pitholaus, the commandant there, went over to Aristobulus, taking with him a thousand men.⁴ For the moment the position appeared so serious to Antipater that he found it advisable to send his family away from Jerusalem, and place them under the protection of his friend Aretas the Nabataean king.⁵ But Aristobulus' army was soon scattered by a detachment of Roman troops; he himself fled to the fortress of Machaerus, but a couple of days' siege was sufficient to subdue him; he was taken and sent back a prisoner to Rome, though his two sons were permitted to remain in Judaea.⁶

Gabinius now left Syria on an expedition against the Parthians; but he had only just gone across the Euphrates when he received an offer of ten thousand talents from Ptolemy XI Auletes—he had been driven from his kingdom—if Gabinius would restore him to the Egyptian throne. The offer was sufficiently tempting to induce Gabinius to give up his Parthian campaign, and use the forces at his disposal for the purpose of reinstating Ptolemy. It was in the spring of 55 B.C. that Gabinius invaded Egypt and placed Ptolemy on his throne again;⁷

¹ This is not the Hellenistic city of Gadara in Peraea, but the city of the same name (written also Gazara) which is referred to in 1 Macc. iv. 15, cp. *Antiq.* xii. 308; it is the same as the Biblical Gezer, situated on the border of the Philistine territory.

² On the east of Jordan, north of the Jabbok.

³ *Bell. Jud.* i. 170; cp. *Antiq.* xiv. 91.

⁴ *Antiq.* xiv. 92, 93; *Bell. Jud.* i. 171, 172.

⁵ Willrich, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

⁶ *Antiq.* xiv. 96; Dio Cassius, *Hist. Rom.* xxxix, lvi. 5, 6 (Reinach, *op. cit.*, pp. 183 f.).

⁷ Bevan, *The Ptolemaic Dynasty*, p. 356.

he was helped in this undertaking by Hyrcanus and Antipater, who sent him corn, weapons, and money. Now it was during Gabinius' absence in Egypt that a second attempt was made by Alexander to seize the government in Judaea; he was again successful in securing a considerable following. If his previous attempt had been primarily to wrest the High-priesthood from Hyrcanus, his purpose now was to challenge Roman suzerainty; he slew every Roman on whom he could lay hands, and then proceeded to besiege mount Gerizim, whither the remaining Romans had fled. Antipater was again to the fore; he persuaded many of Alexander's followers to return to their allegiance. Alexander, however, with a considerable army, remained obdurate. Gabinius, therefore, attacked him by mount Tabor, in Galilee, and inflicted a severe defeat on him.¹ Alexander again appears to have got off lightly, for in the same year we hear of his marrying Alexandra, the daughter of Hyrcanus the High-priest, thereby securing the succession to the High-priesthood as Hyrcanus had no other children.²

Antipater was rewarded for the part he had taken against Alexander by being made, in effect, ruler of the land; Josephus says that 'Gabinius settled the affairs which belonged to the city of Jerusalem as was agreeable to Antipater's inclination.'³

3. THE REVOLT UNDER PITHOLAUS

In the same year Gabinius was recalled,⁴ and he was succeeded, in 54 B.C., by the Triumvir Crassus as proconsul of Syria. Gabinius had laid the land under severe tribute, which, however, he could justify; but Crassus literally robbed. On the pretext of requiring money for his Parthian campaign he plundered the Temple treasury to the extent of two thousand talents, besides appropriating other things to the value of eight thousand talents.⁵ Nothing was more calculated to wound the susceptibilities of the Jews and to irritate them against Roman rule. When in the following year (53 B.C.) he met his death during the Parthian campaign it was interpreted as the act of God, and emboldened the Jews in their resistance to the Roman yoke. The revolt was now headed by Pitholaus, who a year or

¹ *Antiq.* xiv. 100; *Bell. Jud.* i. 176, 177.

² Willrich, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

³ *Antiq.* xiv. 103; *Bell. Jud.* i. 178.

⁴ As to the reason of his recall see Schürer, *op. cit.* i. 305 f., from whom Willrich *op. cit.*, pp. 20 f., entirely differs on the point.

⁵ *Antiq.* xiv. 105-9; *Bell. Jud.* i. 179.

two previously had supported Aristobulus—Alexander was wise enough to take no part in this movement; but Cassius, who had succeeded Crassus in the proconsulship, soon put down the revolt; Pitholaus was captured and, on the advice of Antipater, was put to death.¹ For the next year or two we have no record of what was going on in Judaea.

4. CAESAR AND THE JEWS

At the beginning of the year 49 B.C. the great civil war broke out between Pompey and Caesar. When, later in the same year, Caesar was master in Rome and Pompey had fled to Macedonia, and later to Egypt, the former determined to use Aristobulus, who had been in captivity in Rome since his abortive attempt in Palestine, for the furtherance of his cause. Aristobulus was, therefore, released, and given two legions wherewith he was to return to Syria to oppose the partisans of Pompey. This plan was, however, frustrated; for Pompey's adherents in Rome poisoned Aristobulus. His had been a life of strange vicissitudes during the last twenty years; the remarkable thing is that it lasted as long as it did. Very soon after, his son Alexander, the prospective High-priest, came to an untimely end. Pompey assumed, no doubt rightly, that as Aristobulus had belonged to Caesar's party, Alexander would follow suit; consequently, at Pompey's command, Metellus Scipio, now proconsul of Syria, and his father-in-law, put Alexander to death; this happened in Antioch.²

The defeat of Pompey at the battle of Pharsalus (48 B.C.) and his death a few weeks later was soon to be followed by great changes in Judaea. The position must at first have appeared somewhat awkward for Hyrcanus and Antipater, the moving spirit, for they had been on the best of terms with Pompey. But Antipater was both far-seeing and prompt in action. Caesar had followed Pompey to Egypt, where, after Pompey had been murdered, he was involved unexpectedly in war with Ptolemy XII,³ and soon found himself in an extremely difficult position in Alexandria. Antipater seized the opportunity of ingratiating himself with Caesar by sending him reinforcements; he also persuaded the Jews of Leontopolis to support Caesar;

¹ *Antiq.* xiv. 120; *Bell. Jud.* i. 180.

² *Antiq.* xiv. 125; *Bell. Jud.* i. 185.

³ For an interesting account of how this came about see Bevan, *The Ptolemaic Dynasty*, pp. 362-6.

the result was that Antipater's action contributed materially to Caesar's final victory. And Caesar was not behindhand in showing his gratitude.

Incidentally, Josephus gives us here an insight into the unscrupulous way in which the remaining son of Aristobulus, Antigonus, sought to further his own ends by libelling Antipater to Caesar. 'But Antigonus', he says, 'the son of Aristobulus, came at this time to Caesar, and lamented his father's fate; and complained that it was by Antipater's means that Aristobulus was taken off by poison, and his brother beheaded by Scipio; and desired that he would take pity on him who had been ejected out of that principality which was due to him. He also accused Hyrcanus and Antipater of governing the nation by violence, and offering injuries to him.'¹ Needless to say, this had no effect upon Caesar.

In recognition of what Hyrcanus and Antipater had done for him, and having also, doubtless, an eye to what would be of advantage to the Roman power, Caesar ordained a new order of things in Judaea, as follows (47 B.C.): Hyrcanus was confirmed in the High-priesthood, and received the title of Ethnarch of the Jews, thus obtaining again the political status of which Gabinius had deprived him ten years before. The title and office were to be hereditary; in addition, Hyrcanus was declared an ally of Rome. Willrich points out that, while in the Roman official documents of the time of Hyrcanus I (135-104 B.C.) no mention is made of either High-priest or ruler, but only of treaties between the Roman and the Jewish people, in those of the time of Caesar and his followers, Dolabella and Antony, on the other hand, the names of Hyrcanus and his successors stand in the forefront, as distinct from the people of the Jews. This, Willrich holds, is no accident, the object being to emphasize the monarchical character of the Jewish government as opposed to the more republican régime of previous days. Expressed in Greek form the Jews are described no more as *demos*, but as *ethnos*, i.e. no longer as the organized community of the city of Jerusalem, but as a tribal race under a tribal ruler. The Romans realized that they were opposed not only by the Sadducean aristocracy, but also by the hostility of the masses, hence the advisability of curtailing the rights of the latter.² With the Roman power to support him Hyrcanus could accept his

¹ *Antiq.* xiv. 140; *Bell. Jud.* i. 195, 196.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 24 f.

new status without fear of what popular resentment might threaten.

Antipater was likewise confirmed in the position he had occupied as procurator (ἐπίτροπος) of Judaea, but he also received the status of Roman citizenship, and he was relieved of all taxes whether from possessions in Judaea or elsewhere. While this latter mark of favour meant considerable pecuniary advantage, the nomination to Roman citizenship, shared by his children, also conferred a great boon because, in the possible event of hostility on the part of the High-priest, or the Jews, Antipater could reckon on the protection of Rome.¹ The position assigned to Antipater, while thoroughly deserved, was not without advantage to Rome; the Jews had shown themselves to others to be a vindictive and turbulent people; for them to be held in check by the firm hand of Antipater, whose fidelity to Rome could be reckoned on, was an asset not to be despised.

Caesar had, moreover, with wise political foresight, great favours to bestow on the Jews and their land. All taxation was remitted; entire religious liberty was confirmed, with full permission to exercise the laws and customs of the race; the people were to be judged by their own tribunals; they were relieved of military service in the legions; Roman troops were withdrawn from the land, a welcome relief for more reasons than one. The boundaries of the land were extended in Galilee, and, what was far more important, the seaport of Joppa was given back; the immense advantage of this to a small state like Judaea cannot be over-estimated; it meant greatly extended opportunities for trade and commerce.

One matter of considerable significance was that permission was given to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, which had been destroyed by Pompey. This was, doubtless, permitted primarily for the benefit of Hyrcanus and Antipater; experience had shown how often popular uprisings occurred; it was, therefore, well that the rulers should have a place of safety to resort to in the event of any such untoward occurrence.

But the favour shown to the Jews was not confined to those living in Palestine. It may be that Caesar was to some extent influenced by the thought of what those Egyptian Jews had done for him in the time of stress during the Egyptian war; at any rate, he intended to conciliate the Diaspora Jews, and the fact

¹ Willrich, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

bears witness to their important position in the empire. In Alexandria their privileges were confirmed,¹ and both here and in Rome they were accorded full freedom in the exercise of their religious customs; so far as Rome was concerned this was an exceptional privilege not enjoyed by other alien communities.

Moreover, the vassal-states and allies of Rome were notified that the rights and privileges of the Jews within their borders were to be respected. In the Capitol at Rome as well as in those hostile cities bordering on Jewish territory—e.g. Zidon, Tyre, Ascalon—tablets were put up in the sanctuaries on which it was stated, among other things, that Jews who had suffered wrongs unjustly stood under the protection of the High-priest and Ethnarch. The importance of this is rightly emphasized by Willrich, who points out that even though in the past there had been a close bond of union between the Jewish Diaspora communities themselves, and between them and Jerusalem, of which the most obvious and effective indication had been the collecting and dispatching of the Temple tribute, yet hitherto there had been no organization which could comprehensively regulate the relations between the Jews and the local authorities of those countries and cities in which they were living, either temporarily or permanently. The consequence had been that the various communities had experienced great differences of treatment.² Under Caesar's rule this was all changed. Jewry was now, as it were, a compact corporation, however widely dispersed the component parts, with a central power which could protect, and which could make its decrees effective. Apart from the tribute which was of course exacted from every vassal-state, all that Caesar required was a regular supply of corn; and even this was so far modified that there was a remission in the Sabbatical year.³

It was small wonder, later, when Caesar was dead, that of all the non-Roman peoples the Jews should have been foremost in lamenting the loss of their benefactor.⁴

Although in the decrees of Caesar the name of Hyrcanus appears as the ruler of the Jews, he was in reality only a figure-

¹ For details see Schürer, *op. cit.* iii. 76 ff.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 25 ff.

³ *Antiq.* xiv. 202, 203.

⁴ In summo publico luctu exterarum gentium multitudo circulatim suo quaeque more lamentata est, praecipueque Judaei, qui etiam noctibus continuis bustum frequentarunt (Suetonius, *Caes.*, p. 84, quoted by Schürer, *op. cit.* i. 348). See further on Caesar's decrees, *Antiq.* xiv. 190–216.

head; a man of weak character, indolent of temperament, and lacking in knowledge of men and affairs, he was merely an instrument in the hands of the strong, purposeful, and far-seeing Antipater, rightly described as one of the most notable personalities among Hellenized orientals.¹ Caesar well understood the type of man he was dealing with in Antipater; one who was trustworthy and able, one who really sought the welfare of his country, and who was loyal to his suzerain, both because he admired him, and also because he knew it was to his country's benefit that he should be faithful. With Caesar and Antipater solicitous for the welfare of the Jewish State, Judaea ought to have been, and could have been, a happy country. Alas, that rooted prejudice, blind bigotry, and religious fanaticism should have wrecked the enlightened policy which would have been so beneficial to the Jews!

There were two outstanding facts which account for all the horrors and miseries which the Jews brought upon themselves. The first was that Antipater and his family were Idumaeans. One has to go back somewhat in Jewish history to realize the intense hatred for Edom which the Jews nourished from generation to generation. It goes back in its origin, of course, to very early times, but one sees it at white heat, for example, in Ps. cxxxvii, where, in the middle of a tirade against Babylon, a curse upon Edom is interjected: 'Remember, Yahweh, against the children of Edom, the day of Jerusalem, when they said, "Rase it, rase it, even to its foundations"' (verse 7);² nothing more embittered the patriotic Jew, who had always ruled over and despised these Edomites with whom they were racially connected, than the thought of how in the day of Jerusalem's fall they had egged on the enemy with malicious glee; that bitterness is reflected again and again.³ Later, when John Hyrcanus incorporated Idumaea in the Jewish nation, it had to be judaized; that there should have been the need of this must have made the Idumaeans only more contemptible in the eyes of the Jews. And now it was a member of this race, a semi-Jew, who was the virtual ruler of the land! And the signal marks of favour which had been conferred upon him by Caesar only aggravated their resentment. Thus Antipater was hated by a large section of the Jews.

¹ Willrich, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

² See also above, p. 54.

³ Cp. Ezek. xxv. 12, xxxv. 5 ff.; Obad. 10 ff.; Lam. iv. 21, 22; 1 (3) Esdras iv. 50.

The other fact was that the Holy Land, the heritage of Yahweh, was ruled over by an alien power. Taxation and imposts of various kinds, no doubt, had something to do with the hatred of Roman rule; but this was, in any case, subsidiary. The real cause was that the ideal of a free people in a theocratic State was blotted out by the reality of a people in bondage to a Gentile ruler. It took the Jews some time to realize—and then it was too late—that the power of Rome was a very different thing from that of the Seleucids; the Maccabaeans could triumph over a moribund State torn by factions; but, though the warlike spirit of the Maccabaeans was still alive, the Jews had now to deal with Roman legions; what that meant they were to learn by bitter experience.

The new régime in Judaea having been established, Antipater set about his task with tactful firmness. The words to the Jews which Josephus puts into his mouth no doubt reflect the spirit in which he went to work:

‘If they would be of Hyrcanus’ side, they would live happily, and lead their lives without disturbance in the enjoyment of their own possessions; but if they were addicted to the hopes of what might come by innovation, and aimed to get wealth thereby, they would have him as a severe master instead of a gentle governor, and Hyrcanus a tyrant instead of a king, and the Romans, together with Caesar, their bitter enemies, instead of rulers, for that they would never suffer him to be set aside whom they had appointed to govern.’¹

But Antipater was opposed not only by the aristocracy and their followers, but also by the masses, headed by the Pharisees,² who looked upon the hordes of fanatics as divine instruments intended for the destruction of the foes of God. Galilee especially was a hotbed of rebels against the Roman power. Antipater was well aware that he had a difficult task before him, but he had the support of his sons, in whom he had every confidence.

He therefore appointed Phasaël governor (*stratégos*) of Jerusalem and the surrounding district, and Herod governor of Galilee. The latter went to work at once with the intention of subduing the lawless bands in his district. He was in early manhood, twenty-five years of age, and full of energy. His first act was to capture a notable brigand, Ezekias by name, who had

¹ *Antiq.* xiv. 157.

² On the Pharisees see further above, p. 317f.

overrun the country with a great troop of robbers. Herod put this man to death and dispersed his followers, 'for which action he was greatly beloved by the Syrians; for being very desirous of having their country freed from this nest of robbers, he purged it of them'.¹ It also gained him the favour of Sextus Caesar, the Syrian proconsul.

But the Jerusalem aristocracy saw in Herod's act—he was an Idumaean—an opportunity of humbling him. Only the Sanhedrin had the right to pronounce the death penalty. Herod, by putting Ezekias to death, had transgressed the Law. It was, therefore, demanded of Hyrcanus that he should cite Herod to appear before the Sanhedrin to answer for his deed. This was done; Herod arrived with a troop of soldiers; but he gained the impression that Hyrcanus intended to deliver him into the hands of his accusers, so he withdrew, and hastened to Damascus to seek the protection of Sextus Caesar. By him he was appointed governor of Coele-Syria!² Very soon after Herod came into Judaea to vent his anger on Hyrcanus and his accusers; it was only on the earnest representations of Antipater and Phasaël that he refrained from attacking Jerusalem. But his resentment was not appeased; he reserved his vengeance and, later, exacted it unmercifully.

But these internal quarrels were now silenced by events of more far-reaching import. Though Pompey himself was dead, his party was as hostile as ever to Caesar, and the latter had gone to Africa to attack his enemies. Here he got into grave difficulties again, with the result that the hopes of those of Pompey's partisans in Syria rose in expectation of Caesar's downfall. Q. Caecilius Bassus took the lead in this; he had the proconsul Sextus Caesar put to death, and took up his position in Apamea, on the Orontes, south of Antioch, where he received reinforcements from the Parthian king. He was besieged here by the partisans of Caesar under the command of Antistius Vetus; the latter was supported by Antipater, who sent troops under his two sons to take part in the siege (45 B.C.).³ Soon, too, help came from Caesar, who sent Statius Murcus with three legions; and he was joined by Marcius Crispus, the governor of Bithynia, with three more legions. All joined in the siege of

¹ *Antiq.* xiv. 160.

² *Ibid.*, 177–84; Josephus' account of this episode is somewhat involved.

³ *Ibid.*, 269; *Bell. Jud.* i. 216, 217.

Apamea.¹ Indecisive fighting continued for some months. Then, in the spring of B.C. 44, came the news of the assassination of Caesar.

5. THE DEATH OF ANTIPATER

An embassy was hastily sent from Jerusalem to the senate in Rome in order to obtain an assurance that what had been decreed by Caesar regarding the Jewish nation would continue in force; an appeal was made to Mark Antony to exercise his influence in this matter; there had existed between him and Antipater a feeling of mutual regard since the time of Gabinius' proconsulship, a fact which was calculated to further the Jewish cause.² Nor was the expectation disappointed.

But in Syria itself new troubles arose. Apamea was still being besieged by the partisans of Caesar when, towards the end of 44 B.C., Cassius arrived to claim the proconsulship of Syria which, some time previously, had been promised to him by Caesar. He not only gained over to his side the troops of the besiegers, but Bassus, too, joined him.³ But Cassius required money for the furtherance of his plans, and in raising this it was Judaea that suffered heavily, for he exacted seven hundred talents from the land.

Antipater saw there was nothing for it but to comply; he, therefore, commissioned his two sons and a certain Malichos (the form Malchos also occurs), a follower of Hyrcanus, to collect this money. Herod was most forward in this, thereby commending himself to Cassius. The extortionate demands of Cassius, and his barbarous treatment of those who were unable to comply with them, aroused great bitterness among the Jews; and as Antipater and his two sons had been foremost in assisting Cassius, they, too, became more than ever the objects of Jewish hatred. This feeling against the Idumaeans was utilized by Malichos, who aspired to replace Antipater as the virtual ruler of Judaea. He was successful in gaining many to his side, so much so that Antipater's suspicions were aroused, and he began gathering troops among his partisans in the districts east of Jordan. Malichos managed, however, to allay the suspicions of

¹ Josephus (*Antiq.* xiv. 271) does not say who Caesar's generals were; but their names are mentioned in the next section (see also Appian, *Civ.* iii. 77, iv. 58; Dio Cass. xlvii. 27; Schürer, *op. cit.* i. 310).

² See Willrich, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

³ *Antiq.* xiv. 271, 272; Dio Cass. xlvii. 28, 3.

Antipater. 'But', says Josephus, 'as Malichos was most afraid of Antipater, he took him out of the way; and, by the offer of money, persuaded the butler of Hyrcanus, with whom they were both to feast, to kill him by poison' (43 B.C.).¹ Retribution soon followed; Herod avenged the murder of his father by having Malichos stabbed.

In the next year Cassius quitted Syria for what was to be his final encounter with Mark Antony and Octavian. He left Judaea in a deplorable state of anarchy. The opportunity was seized by Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, to try once more to gain Judaea for himself.² He was supported in this attempt by Ptolemy, the son of Menneus, of Chalcis, his brother-in-law Fabius of Damascus, whose support was bought, and Marion of Tyre. The menace was, however, warded off, for the present, by Herod's energy and skill. But the threat had endangered the interests of both Hyrcanus and Herod, with the result that they now became friends; the friendship was cemented by Herod being betrothed to Mariamne, the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, and through her mother Alexandra, the grandchild of Hyrcanus;³ the actual marriage took place some years later. That Herod was already married was not regarded as a bar. By this connexion he subsequently became a member of the royal family, which gave him a claim to the throne.

6. ANTIGONUS KING AND HIGH-PRIEST

An entire alteration of the condition of affairs in Judaea arose as the result of the victory at Philippi of Antony and Octavian over Cassius and Brutus (42 B.C.). The situation was somewhat involved: first, there was Hyrcanus; he had been a supporter of Cassius and was, therefore, not looked upon with favour by Antony; his friendship for Herod and Phasaël condemned him in the eyes of the aristocratic Sadducean party who had always hated the Idumaeans. Then Herod and Phasaël found themselves in an awkward position, for they, too, had been supporters of Cassius. Further, the Sadducean party, and with them many who in other respects were no friends of the aristocracy,

¹ *Antiq.* xiv. 281.

² He had, on a former occasion, it will be remembered, tried to persuade Caesar to give him Judaea, but in vain; see above, p. 338.

³ *Antiq.* xiv. 300; *Bell. Jud.* i. 241. Alexandra, it will be remembered, was the daughter of Hyrcanus II.

were, above all things, anxious to be rid of the Idumaeans. And, to complicate matters still more, Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, soon appeared upon the scene again, in the hopes of displacing Hyrcanus and obtaining the High-priesthood for himself.

But apart from all these more immediately Jewish affairs, there was the larger issue which faced the Roman power, namely, the task of subduing the still very active partisans of Cassius; and this became the more difficult in that these latter called in and received the support of the Parthians.

It is, however, with the Jews that we are mainly concerned. Each party among them naturally sought to further its interests with the victorious Antony, upon whom had devolved the conduct of affairs in the eastern parts of the empire. One after another the suppliants appeared before him—Herod, representatives of the Sadducean party, others representing the masses, and Hyrcanus; while a little later, Antigonus also appeared upon the scene. The immediate outcome was that the Idumaeans won the day. Both Herod and Phasael received the title of tetrarch; Hyrcanus, it is true, was permitted to continue as heretofore; but the two new tetrarchs were the real rulers, and having been appointed by the Roman power their position was independent *vis-à-vis* Hyrcanus.¹

Four causes now contributed to make Antony's hold on Syria very precarious; two have already been referred to: the presence of the partisans of Cassius, and the influx of the Parthians. A further cause was that, in his need for money, Antony oppressed Judaea to such an extent that in their desperation the Jews allied themselves to the Parthians in the hope that with their help the Roman yoke might be cast off. To these causes must be added that of Antony's careless indifference to what was going on owing to his infatuation for Cleopatra. In Alexandria he was revelling in pleasure and self-indulgence, without troubling himself about affairs of State, forgetful of his duties, and leaving his army in Syria to its own devices; this was in the winter of 40-41 B.C. It was small wonder that a large number of his troops deserted him.

The Parthian invasion of Syria, as we have said, was taking place at this time; and in Judaea the Parthians were received with open arms as deliverers. It was now that Anti-

¹ *Antiq.* xiv. 301-5, 324-9; *Bell. Jud.* 242-4.

gonus appeared in the hope that with their help he might gain the Judaeian throne. He promised to give the Parthians 'a thousand talents, and five hundred women, on condition that they would take the government away from Hyrcanus, and bestow it upon him, and withal kill Herod'.¹ Antigonus soon gathered an army of supporters, and with his Parthian allies entered Jerusalem without resistance; the bulk of the citizens looked to him to free them from Roman oppression. Herod managed to escape, but Phasaël and Hyrcanus fell into the hands of Antigonus; the former committed suicide by dashing his head against a stone; Hyrcanus was brought bound before Antigonus, when this disgusting person 'bit off his ears with his own teeth, that so he might never be able to take the High-priesthood again, for the High-priests that officiated were to be complete and without blemish'.² Hyrcanus was then carried off to Babylon, where he was kept, however, in honourable captivity.³

Antigonus had now realized his hopes; he had been set upon the throne of Judaea by the Parthians, and since the legitimate heir to the High-priesthood was but a boy (the grandson of Hyrcanus) the new king became also the High-priest. In the bilingual inscription on his coins he described himself in the Greek part as 'King Antigonus', in the Hebrew part as 'Mattathiah the High priest'⁴ (Mattathiah was his Jewish name).

The position of Herod was, for the present, desperate. His one hope lay in support from Rome; the Roman power in Syria had, indeed, for the time being, been shattered; but Herod knew that Rome could not acquiesce in this. Antony had awakened from his lethargy; and the quarrel which had broken out between him and Octavian had been amicably settled. They were both now in Rome; thither Herod hurried; and his reception was most cordial, while the result of his visit was wholly beyond his expectations. Josephus makes it clear that

¹ *Antiq.* xiv. 331; *Bell. Jud.* i. 248, 249.

² *Ibid.*, 271. Foakes-Jackson refers to an article by Louis Finkelstein in the *Harvard Theological Review*, July 1929, according to whom the 'practice of injuring the ear was a recognized means of disqualifying a man for the priesthood'. According to the Tosephta to the Mishnah treatise *Parah* ('Heifer'), iii. 6, Rabbi Johanan ben Zakkai nipped the ear of a High-priest, to whose ritual in the matter of the Red Heifer he objected, thereby making it impossible for him to officiate in the Temple (*Josephus and the Jews*, p. 130 [1930]).

³ *Antiq.* xv. 14.

⁴ Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, pp. 99 ff. (1881).

Herod, in seeking for Roman support, had no intention of trying to gain the kingdom for himself; what he wanted was that Aristobulus,¹ the brother of his wife, should be recognized as king by Rome; Aristobulus belonged to the royal house, and Herod knew that it was Rome's custom to bestow kingship on members of the royal families.² No doubt Herod reckoned on governing through Aristobulus, just as Antipater had in reality governed through Hyrcanus. When, therefore, Herod found that it was *he* and not his brother-in-law who was to be made king, his surprise was as great as his pleasure. The reason why Roman policy designated Herod as king was clear enough; for Antigonus obviously could not be recognized by Rome, seeing that he owed his elevation to Rome's enemies; Aristobulus was a member of the same family, and was, therefore, suspected of anti-Roman feelings; in any case, he was still too young. There was nobody more fitted for furthering Roman interests in the East than Herod. He was, therefore, granted the title of king of Judaea,³ and to his domains there was added the district of Samaria.

It was one thing for Herod to be recognized as king by Rome, but it was another thing to possess himself of his kingdom; this he soon realized after his arrival in Syria. Though personally Antigonus was not a man to inspire respect, there had been two things in his favour, and these had commended him to the Jews as a whole: the spiritual and civil power was centred in him; this is what they had come to regard since Maccabaeian times as fitting for their rulers; besides which Antigonus assumed an independence, however illusory and fleeting, of any foreign power. But perhaps equally important in the eyes of the Jewish people was the further fact that Antigonus had always been an implacable hater of the Roman power. Therefore, when Herod arrived as the king appointed by Rome, and as Rome's protégé, it is easy to understand that he aroused the bitterest enmity. For two years he had a hard and fruitless struggle in trying to gain his kingdom, and it was not until Sosius, the proconsul of Syria, came to his support with a large force (38 B.C.) that he achieved success. Jerusalem was besieged in the spring of the

¹ Josephus says 'Alexander'; but Mariamne had only one brother, Aristobulus.

² *Antiq.* xiv. 381-9.

³ Josephus (*ibid.*, xv. 196) says that Herod received his kingdom *δόσει καίσαρος καὶ δόγματι Ῥωμαίων*, but Caesar had the right of presenting it without the Senate's consent.

next year;¹ before three months were out it fell; Antigonus was taken prisoner to Antioch, and suffered the death penalty.² Thus ended the Hasmonaean High-priesthood.³ Herod was now king in the full sense of the word.

¹ According to Dio Cassius (xlix. 22, 6), a pitched battle had been fought between the forces of Sosius and Antigonus at which the latter was defeated, and therefore he fled to Jerusalem.

² *Antiq.* xiv. 394-491; *Bell. Jud.* i. 274-363; cp. Plutarch, *Antony*, xxxvi; Dio Cass. xlix. 22, 6.

³ The very brief period during which Aristobulus (the son of Alexandra) was High-priest can hardly be reckoned.

Chapter XXIII

THE REIGN OF HEROD THE GREAT

SUMMARY

[When Herod became king, in 37 B.C., he fully realized the hatred felt for him by his subjects; this was part of the heritage bequeathed to him by his father; for, quite apart from any acts of his own, or of his father's, which may have aroused the anger of the Jews, the very fact of his being an Idumaeon condemned him in their eyes. In order to ensure his personal safety one of his first acts was to put to death a number of the more influential among his enemies; this naturally increased the bitterness against him felt by the Jews. Another aggravation was Herod's friendship for, and reliance upon, Rome. Added to these causes was the further fact that Herod had displaced the Hasmonaeon dynasty. Herod, on his part, desired to cultivate a better relationship between his people and himself; this he showed by various acts; but in vain.

The deplorable domestic troubles, culminating in a series of terrible tragedies, must be put down primarily to Cleopatra, the Egyptian queen, to Herod's mother-in-law, Alexandra, and to his wife, Mariamne. These troubles were greatly fostered by the bitter enmity between Alexandra and Mariamne on the one hand, and the mother and sister of Herod, namely Kypros and Salome, on the other.

As the friend and adherent of Antony, Herod found himself in a difficult position when, at the battle of Actium (31 B.C.), Antony was defeated, and Augustus became world-ruler. Herod managed, however, to gain the goodwill of Augustus, and was confirmed in his kingdom, to which were added all the possessions in Palestine of Cleopatra, on her death in 30 B.C. On his return home Herod had to face a repetition of the domestic troubles which he had experienced before; but the outcome this time was more tragic; both Mariamne and Alexandra were put to death.

During the years 25-14 B.C. peace reigned for the most part, at any rate outwardly. Herod's dominions were further added to as a reward for his loyal service to Augustus. Minor troubles occurred owing to the unsettled state of the country. Difficulties also arose when Herod demanded of his people the oath of allegiance both to Caesar and to himself; these were, however, for the present overcome. Noteworthy during these years was the rift between the Zealots and the Pharisees. But in spite of a certain amount of unrest the times were comparatively peaceful, and Herod was able to devote himself to architecture; in this he showed himself a real benefactor to his people.

The dominating factor during the last nine years of the life of Herod was the irreconcilable strife between his sons, who restarted the quarrel which had raged between the women-folk during the earlier years of his reign, a quarrel which centred in the envy and hatred of the Idumaeen and Hasmonaeen branches of Herod's family. During this final period of his reign the two sons of Mariamne, Alexander and Aristobulus, of the Hasmonaeen branch, were opposed by Antipater, the son of Doris, Herod's first wife, of the Idumaeen branch. Antipater's accusation against his two half-brothers that they were plotting against the life of their father was not without justification; an impartial tribunal, after having sifted the evidence, pronounced them guilty; as a result they were put to death. Not long after this, another impartial tribunal was called upon to examine the evidence of an accusation brought against Antipater of seeking the life of his father; he, too, was found guilty, and suffered accordingly. The end of Herod's life was further embittered by troubles in Jerusalem. He died in 4 B.C.]

I. FROM THE DEATH OF ANTIGONUS TO THE BATTLE OF ACTIUM (31 B.C.)

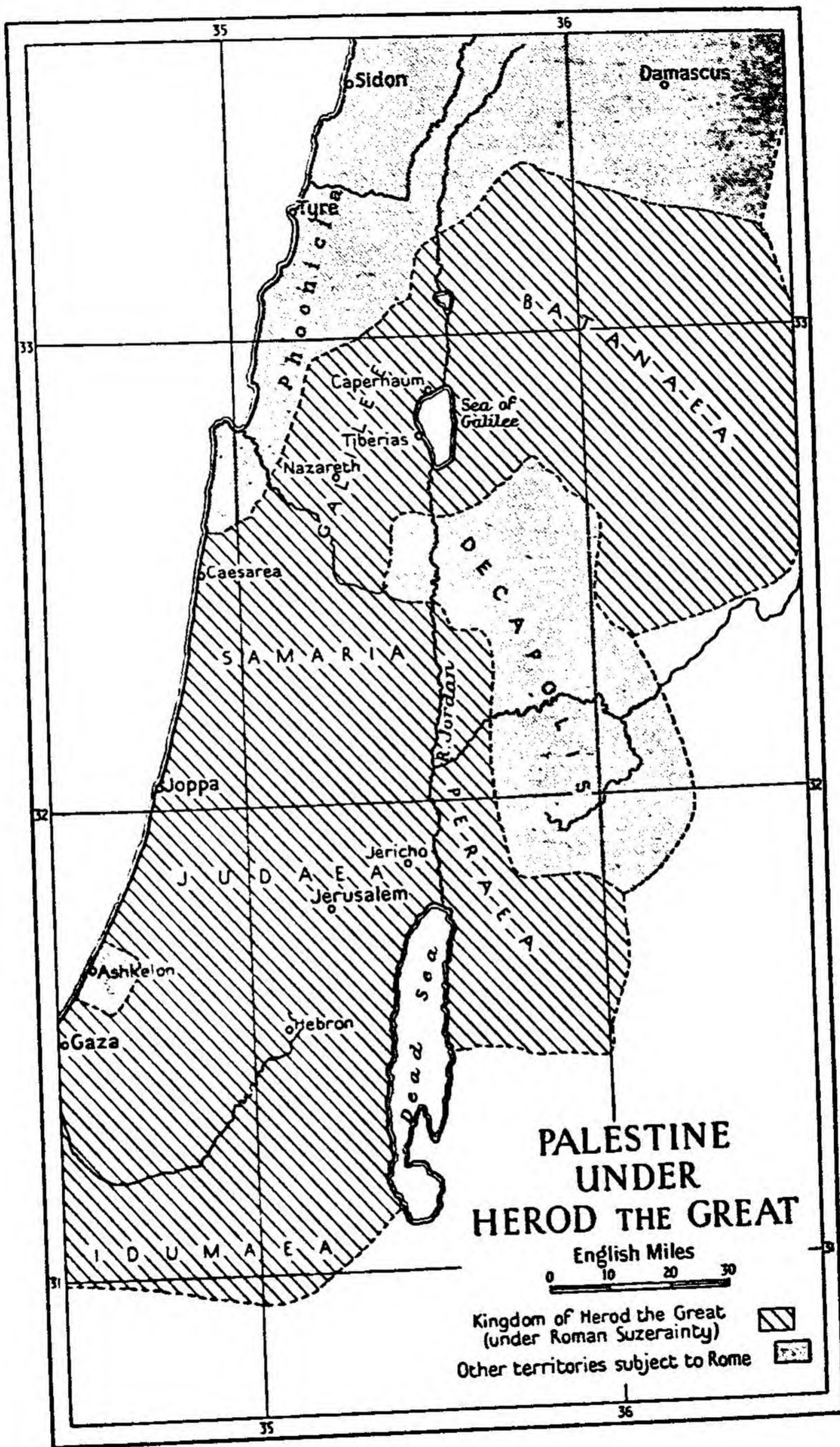
WE anticipated slightly in the preceding chapter in order to follow out to the end the period of Antigonus' High-priesthood.

It will be well, in recording the history of the reign of Herod the Great,¹ that we should, at the outset, make it clear why the Jews entertained such hatred for him. In fairness to him it must be recognized that the initial antipathy felt against him by the Jews was no fault of his; it was part of the heritage bequeathed to him by his father. Herod was, of course, well aware of this; and, realizing his precarious position when he became actually king (in 37 B.C.), he regarded it as a measure of safety to have the more influential among his enemies put to death; 'he slew forty-five of the principal men of Antigonus' party'² It was a barbarous act of cruelty which, naturally enough, could but increase the hatred against Herod.

Further, Herod could only keep his throne with Roman support; for this a great deal of money was needed; therefore Herod was forced to despoil the Jews in order to get this; he 'carried off all the royal ornaments and spoiled the wealthy men of what they had gotten; and when, by this means, he had

¹ For the history of Herod's reign Josephus is mainly indebted to Strabo and Nicolaus of Damascus.

² *Antiq.* xv. 6.



heaped together a great quantity of silver and gold, he gave it all to Antony and his friends that were about him.¹ This reliance on Rome, hated by the Jews as much as they hated Herod, was a further aggravation.

And, finally, what among some sections of the Jews was another cause of hatred was that Herod had displaced the Hasmonaeon dynasty; not even Antipater had outraged Jewish susceptibilities to this extent. The Sadducees and their following had by this time become greatly attached to the Hasmonaeans; and even the Pharisees thought of the time when, under the rulers of this house, they had been an independent nation; and though they did not love the Hasmonaeans,² they acquiesced in their rule, and had come to look upon them as the natural rulers of the land of Judaea. Herod was the first to break what had become a tradition; and it cut very deep when the Jews thought of how the sacred part of this tradition (i.e. the spiritual and civil rulership being centred in one person) was desecrated by the semi-alien Idumaeon who did not belong even to a priestly family.

It was a deplorable thing that at the very beginning of Herod's reign the relations between himself and his subjects should have been thus embittered. But it must be admitted that the circumstances being what they were, it is difficult to see how this could have been avoided. That he was anxious to cultivate friendly feelings is certain; policy would recommend this even if there were no better motives. Josephus mentions the names of two Pharisees, Pollio (= Abtalion), and Sameas (= Shemaiah) his disciple, who were highly honoured by Herod.³ These were two of the most influential Pharisees of their time, and the bulk of the people followed Pharisaic guidance; so that Herod's action points to a desire for conciliation. Another indication of a wish to foster better relations was his treatment of Hyrcanus, the former Hasmonaeon High-priest. It will be remembered that at the time when Antigonus, with the help of the Parthians, captured Jerusalem, Hyrcanus was carried off to Babylon by the Parthians, by whom he was kept in honourable captivity. At

¹ *Antiq.* xv. 5.

² In fact, some of the Pharisees were directly hostile to the Hasmonaeans, as may be seen, e.g., in the *Psalms of Solomon* viii. 15-20, xvii. 7 f.

³ *Antiq.* xv. 1-4, see also xv. 370; these two are mentioned together in *Pirke Abôth*, i. 11. The name Abtalion is the Jewish form for Euthalion; 'ab' is the equivalent of the Greek diphthong (Schlatter, *op. cit.*, p. 432).

Herod's request Hyrcanus was permitted to return to his native land; for a number of years he lived respected and in peace at the court of Herod. We are justified in regarding this act of Herod's in thus showing kindness and honour to this aged representative of the Hasmonaean house as a desire to conciliate the Jews. Josephus, it is true, interprets it differently; he represents it as a 'treacherous design' on the part of Herod because he had been appointed ruler of a country to which he had no just claim, therefore he was afraid of a 'change in his condition, and so made what haste he could to get Hyrcanus into his power, or indeed to put him quite away'.¹ That Josephus is quite mistaken here is clear; if Herod was afraid of being supplanted by Hyrcanus, why not leave him in the hands of the Parthians, where he was safely out of the way and harmless? If it be urged that wherever he was his Jewish adherents constituted a danger as long as he was alive, the reply is that Hyrcanus lived for seven years at the court of Herod; if the latter had wished to get rid of his aged guest as a danger to the throne, he would not have courted the danger for seven years. There is only too much evidence to show that when Herod had reason to fear any one his wild and passionate nature made him act quickly. Josephus was led astray here because he interpreted Herod's act in the light of later events; Hyrcanus was ultimately put to death at Herod's command, but that is another story.² We have no wish to represent Herod in an unduly favourable light; on the other hand, there is no reason to blacken him more than is necessary.

Be the motives what they may, there is no doubt that Herod, at the beginning of his reign, really wished to conciliate his subjects.

In addition to the initial difficulty of their hatred of him, there were other complications with which he was confronted quite early in his reign. Thus, Cleopatra, Antony's lover, had set her heart on regaining all the lands which had at one time belonged to the Ptolemaic empire; though Antony refused her Judaea—he could not afford to fall out with Herod, for he was confronted with another Parthian war—he granted her, among other territories, the small kingdom of Chalcis, at the foot of the Lebanon, and the Phoenician coast-land from the mouth of the Eleutherus to Zidon; this made Cleopatra's possessions sufficiently near to Herod's land in the north to be unpleasant; but what was worse was that Antony gave her also the balsam

² See below, p. 360.

¹ *Antiq.* xv. 14–22

woods near Jericho; these were of great commercial value, and—perhaps to gratify Cleopatra's spite—'Herod was appointed to act in this region as her agent.'¹

But there were further reasons for the 'murderous hatred' which Herod and Cleopatra bore to each other; for the Egyptian queen was instrumental in causing strife in Herod's family. She had a protégée in Alexandra, the mother of Herod's wife, Mariamne; and Cleopatra supported Alexandra in her intrigues against Herod. For the understanding of subsequent events it is necessary to explain the causes of Alexandra's hatred for her son-in-law and the consequent intrigues against him. There were three causes; the first was this: When Herod fled to Rome after Antigonus had been placed on the throne of Judaea by the Parthians, he had gone with the intention of trying to secure the throne for his wife's brother, Aristobulus; but quite contrary to his expectations, it was he himself who was appointed king.² Obviously, there could be no question of refusing such an offer, nor can we imagine Herod entertaining such an idea, for he was ambitious, and a ruler by nature; but the point is that he did not personally seek the kingship. Nevertheless, Alexandra could not forgive Herod that he and not her son Aristobulus, the rightful heir, was on the throne of Judaea. That was the first cause of her hatred. The second was that when it lay entirely within Herod's power to appoint a High-priest, he did not institute Aristobulus to this office; as the grandson of Hyrcanus II he was the rightful heir to the High-priesthood, as he was to the kingship.³ Instead, Herod appointed a certain priest from Babylonia, of the name of Chananel; he belonged, it is true, to the pre-Maccabaeen high-priestly family; but that succession was a thing of the past; the Hasmonaeen High-priesthood had long since established its claims. Since Aristobulus, then, had been deprived of the kingship, he might at least have been appointed High-priest. But here again, it is only fair that the matter should be looked at from Herod's point of view also. Between the family of Herod and the adherents of the Hasmonaeen dynasty there had been friction for many years, and as a matter of policy it was wiser to have a High-priest who was not related to the Hasmonaeans, and who,

¹ *Antiq.* xv. 88–103; Bevan, *The Ptolemaic Dynasty*, p. 375.

² *Antiq.* xiv. 386, 387; see above, p. 348.

³ His mother was the only child of Hyrcanus II.

above all, had had no connexion with the Jerusalem aristocracy. A third reason for Alexandra's hatred was that she belonged to the Hasmonaean family, while Herod was an Idumaeon; the aristocratic Hasmonaeans had always regarded the upstart Idumaeans with contempt.

These, then, were the causes of Alexandra's wrath against Herod; and it must be acknowledged that from her point of view they were reasonable. To seek to obtain the kingship for her son Alexandra recognized was futile; but with the High-priesthood it was different. What had not been possible by direct means might be achieved by indirect ones. Alexandra communicated privately with Cleopatra—and it seems that Mariamne, Herod's wife, was with her here¹—in the hope that, through her influence on Antony she might persuade him to bring pressure on Herod to remove Chananel from the High-priesthood, and appoint Aristobulus in his place. In this Alexandra succeeded; Chananel was deposed by Herod, and Aristobulus, though only sixteen years of age, became High-priest in his place. Now, according to Jewish Law, a High-priest remained such for life; so that Herod's action was, on the one hand, a breach of the Law,² and, on the other, he was forming a precedent unheard of since Maccabaeon times, namely the right of the king to depose a High-priest. This, therefore, caused a deep rift in the relations between Herod and the Jews. Here let it again in fairness be noted that Herod was the victim of circumstances; it was altogether against his interests to have Aristobulus as High-priest; but his hand was forced by Antony; and Antony acted under the influence of the adulteress Cleopatra; and Cleopatra was instigated by Alexandra. It was altogether a sordid business; but it is well that we should recognize the circumstances and the baneful activity of these two women who must have been the curse of Herod's life at this time.

The appointment of Aristobulus to the High-priesthood brought about, it would seem, a temporary reconciliation between Herod and Alexandra;³ she had got her way, so of course she could afford to be friendly. But Herod had, in the meantime, found out about the secret communications which Alexandra had had with Cleopatra; and from what Josephus tells us it looks very much as though Alexandra had been seeking something more than the High-priesthood for her son; for after

¹ See *Antiq.* xv. 31-8.

² *Ibid.*, 40, 41.

³ *Ibid.*, 36-8.

it had come to her knowledge that Herod was informed of all her secret communications with Cleopatra, Josephus reports her as saying to Herod by way of apology, that, 'as to the High-priesthood, she was very much concerned for the disgrace her son was under, and so endeavoured to the utmost to procure it for him; but that as to the kingdom, she had made no attempts, and if it were offered her (i.e. for her son), she would not accept it; and that now she would be satisfied with her son's dignity...'¹ Even if the reports which had reached Herod's ears were exaggerated and there had been no mention of the kingship in the communications between Alexandra and Cleopatra, still Herod can hardly be blamed for taking precautions in regard to Alexandra. He insisted on her remaining in the palace so that an eye could be kept upon her; and he forbade her to meddle in public affairs; it is said that her guards were so vigilant that nothing she did escaped them. This was too much for Alexandra, and she determined to get away. By some means she managed to send word to Cleopatra, who advised her to come with her son to Egypt. Her mode of escape was bold and ingenious: 'She got two coffins made, as if they were to carry away two dead bodies, and put herself into one, and her son into the other; then she gave orders to those of her servants who knew of her intentions to carry them away in the night-time.' Apparently a ship was in waiting (Josephus does not say where) to take them to Egypt. The scheme failed, however, owing to the vigilance of one of Herod's servants. Herod did not inflict punishment on Alexandra, for fear, as Josephus says, of Cleopatra's vengeance.²

But his distrust of Alexandra was only increased; and an event was now about to happen in connexion with which, while Herod must bear the full weight of guilt, Alexandra cannot be exonerated from indirect blame. Aristobulus was murdered at Herod's instigation³ (35 B.C.); but it was Alexandra who had first aroused his suspicions as to the danger that menaced

¹ Ibid., 36.

² Ibid., 48.

³ Willrich, however, draws attention to a flaw in the evidence regarding the death of Aristobulus which should not be overlooked. Josephus says (*Bell. Jud.* i. 437) that 'he was sent by night to Jericho, and was there plunged into a pool till he was drowned, by the Gauls, at Herod's command'; but these Gauls, i.e. Cleopatra's four hundred Galatians who formed her bodyguard, did not come into Herod's service until five years later, when, after Cleopatra's death, Octavian made Herod a present of them (*Antiq.* xv. 217; *Bell. Jud.* i. 397).

him from the Hasmonaean family. Herod feigned great sorrow at Aristobulus' death, giving out that it was an accident—he was drowned while bathing¹—but nobody believed this, least of all Alexandra. She addressed herself once more to Cleopatra in the hope that through her influence on Antony the murderer of her son might be brought to account. In this she succeeded, for Antony, who was staying at Laodicea on his way to an Armenian campaign, commanded Herod to appear before him and make his defence. This command Herod had perforce to obey; he, therefore, left his uncle, Joseph, to conduct the affairs during his absence. The charge which Herod gave Joseph before leaving gives an insight into Herod's character; and it had a tragic issue. Realizing the possibility that, owing to Cleopatra's rancour and Alexandra's added hatred, his own life might now be in danger, he laid the command on Joseph that, if Antony pronounced the death-sentence against him (Herod), he was immediately to kill his wife Mariamne. The reason for this extraordinary charge was that in his passionate love for his wife, and his jealous disposition, Herod could not bear the thought of her belonging to any one else after his death, and he had reason to believe that Antony had already been attracted by her beauty. Unfortunately for himself, Joseph, though from entirely good motives, was unwise enough to let this secret charge come to the ears of Mariamne; but of this presently. In the meantime a report was spread abroad by Herod's enemies that he had been put to death at Antony's command. Alexandra got to work at once; she endeavoured to persuade Joseph to leave Jerusalem with herself and Mariamne on the pretext that they would be safer under the protection of the Roman legion which was encamped about the city. The real reason was that she wanted an opportunity of bringing her beautiful daughter away to be seen by the amorous Antony; for she was sure that 'if Antony did but once see Mariamne . . . they would be able to recover the kingdom'.² Herod—the report of his death was quite untrue—received intimation of these intrigues; he had entirely justified himself in the sight of Antony regarding the death of Aristobulus, and was therefore free to return home; this he did soon after. Josephus here gives us a glimpse into the state of affairs among the great ladies of the court at Jerusalem, and this must be taken account of in view of the tragedies which were soon to follow.

¹ For the details see *Antiq.* xv. 50–6; *Bell. Jud.* i. 437.

² *Antiq.* xv. 73.

Horrible and inexcusable as Herod's crimes were, justice demands that we should recognize that he was driven almost to madness by the insinuations, calumnies, lies, and insolence of these ladies. Alexandra was, of course, the worst; she was clearly not averse to using her daughter for the purpose of appealing to the lustful passions of Antony; and this in spite of the fact that Cleopatra, Antony's lover, was her friend. Her behaviour to her daughter at the hour of the latter's death¹ shows her to have been one of the most contemptible of women. Further, Mariamne was the cause of incessant worry to Herod for a different reason; Josephus says of her that she was 'a chaste woman and faithful to him [Herod]; yet she was a kind of woman rough by nature, and treated her husband imperiously enough';² elsewhere he says that 'she wanted moderation, and had too much of contention in her nature . . . and thence arose the greatest part of the occasions why she did not prove so agreeable to the king, nor live so pleasantly with him, as she might otherwise have done'.³ Then, again, between Alexandra and Mariamne on one side, and Herod's mother Kypros, and sister Salome, on the other, there was incessant quarrelling and an ever-increasing hatred; the two daughters seem to have hated each other most; Mariamne gave expression to this by reviling Salome's low birth; Salome avenged herself by spreading foul calumnies about Mariamne.

Herod returned home, then, after his interview with Antony, to find these contending passions in full play. First, Salome and her mother told him of the endeavours of Alexandra and Mariamne to escape from Jerusalem; then Salome calumniously accused Joseph (Herod's uncle) of criminal relations with Mariamne. Herod, thereupon, taxed Mariamne with unfaithfulness; she denied it on oath; but retorted that his love for her could not be very deep in view of his having commanded her to be put to death in the event of his own death. Herod, on learning thus that Joseph had betrayed his secret to Mariamne, 'cried out and tore his hair with his own hands, and said that now he had clear proof that Joseph had had criminal relations with his wife, for that he would never have uttered what he had told him alone by himself unless there had been great familiarity and firm confidence between them'.⁴ But for his great love for Mariamne, Herod

¹ See *ibid.*, 232-5.

² *Antiq.*, xv. 219.

³ *Ibid.*, 237-9.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 85-7.

would have killed her there and then in his passion, for he evidently believed his wife guilty; however, he restrained himself. Joseph was, however, put to death without even a chance of defending himself; and as for Alexandra, 'he bound her, and kept her in custody, as the cause of all this mischief'.

For a year or two now there is but little to record; but in 32 B.C. the conflict between Antony and Octavian broke out, and Judaea was again dragged into the whirl of world politics. Herod, as the friend and protégé of Antony, naturally supported him, and was anxious to accompany him westwards for the encounter with Octavian; but Antony thought it wiser to leave Herod in Judaea as a barrier against any Parthian attack; in addition to this Herod had his own troubles with the Nabataeans.¹ He was, therefore, left behind, while Antony went to meet his fate at Actium. Herod had during the next few months some hard fighting with the Arabians; ultimately he overcame them. His triumphal return to Jerusalem was, however, marred by the news of Antony's defeat at Actium.

2. THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE KINGDOM

The battle of Actium took place on the 2nd of September 31 B.C.² Antony's defeat was a great blow to Herod; he had for years been his loyal adherent, and would therefore be regarded as the enemy of Octavian, now the ruler of the world. In the next year Herod had to appear before Octavian; he looked forward to this with a heavy heart, for there was not much to expect. His evil genius, Alexandra, was on the *qui vive* for his downfall; and not even waiting until he left Jerusalem she went to work in preparation for his disgrace. She entangled her poor old father, Hyrcanus, in an intrigue with Malchus, the governor of Arabia; incriminating correspondence was intercepted, and the entirely harmless and innocent Hyrcanus was condemned to death.³ Alexandra was clever enough to keep in the back-

¹ Cleopatra was apparently at the bottom of this, for Josephus says that 'she prevailed with Antony to commit the war against the Arabians to Herod; so that if he got the better she might become mistress of Arabia, or, if he were worsted, of Judaea; and that she might destroy one of those kings by the other' (*Bell. Jud.* i. 364, 365; cp. *Antiq.* xv. 110).

² Josephus records that in this year, the seventh of Herod's reign, an earthquake of unprecedented violence occurred in Judaea, causing the death of 30,000 men (*ibid.*, 121, 122; *Bell. Jud.* i. 370).

³ Josephus gives two varying accounts of this (*Antiq.* xv. 161-78); one cannot be sure of what really happened. Hyrcanus' death is only briefly alluded to in *Bell. Jud.* i. 433.

ground; but Herod evidently suspected her, for before leaving Judaea he placed her under guard in the fortress of Alexandreion, and with her his wife, so that she also seems to have been regarded with suspicion.¹

Herod then hastened to present himself before Octavian, who was now at Rhodes. It must be granted that Josephus' account of Herod's speech and bearing in the presence of Octavian shows a side of his character which compels admiration. He frankly, and even boldly, boasted of his friendship for Antony, and of the help he had given him in his fight against Octavian, regretting only that he had not done more in support of his friend; he added that his friendship for Antony was just as great in his adversity as it was in his prosperity. The peroration strikes a note not quite so admirable: 'But if thou wilt put him on one side, and take note of what kind of man I am to my benefactors, and what sort of a friend, thou wilt learn by experience that the like will be done to thee; for it is only a changing of names, and the firmness of friendship we shall have for thee will not be displeasing to thee.'²

The traits of character here displayed, frankness, fearlessness, friendship, and, not less, the very human touch exhibited at the end, appealed to Octavian. Herod, therefore, gained his goodwill, and was confirmed in the kingship of Judaea.³

Octavian then followed Antony to Egypt, whither the latter had fled with Cleopatra. The story of the deaths of Antony and Cleopatra has been graphically and succinctly told by Dr. Edwyn Bevan, and we may be permitted to quote his words:

'When Caesar's army lay outside Alexandria, the queen barricaded herself with a quantity of treasure and with her two women . . . in a solidly built monument somewhere in Alexandria, and gave Antony to understand that she had committed suicide. Then Antony thrust his sword into his body, but bungled it, and was drawn up, badly wounded, into the monument by Cleopatra and her women. What happened inside the monument could never, of course, be known, except by what Cleopatra and her women chose afterwards to say. When the Romans broke into the monument, they found Antony's corpse. Plutarch gives a pathetic account of the last words of the lovers, but one must remember that Cleopatra's chances of making good terms with Caesar must seem to be increased, if Antony were got out of the way, and that she had apparently tried

¹ *Antiq.* xv. 185.

² *Ibid.*, 187-93; cp. *Bell. Jud.* i. 387-90.

³ *Antiq.* xv. 194, 195.

by a trick to induce him to take his own life. Caesar made his entry as conqueror into Alexandria on 1 August 30 B.C. He had an interview with the queen, who had now returned from the monument to the palace of the Ptolemies. It was afterwards said that Cleopatra, in her fortieth year, tried to repeat a third time her success in captivating the Ruler of the Roman world, but failed against the cold prudence of the young Caesar, though Octavian was no saint. But that may well be later invention, when legend worked up the story of Cleopatra according to the established idea of her as the magnificent harlot. All we can say for certain is that when these two came into contact it was a case of two deep actors each trying to impose upon the other. That Caesar desired to exhibit the notorious queen to the Roman crowd, led a captive behind his triumphal chariot, is likely enough, and for this reason he tried to prevent her from killing herself. Her end must always be enveloped in mystery. All that is certain is that she was discovered one day dead in her royal robes—perhaps the garb she wore as the New Isis. The story which became established within a few weeks¹ in Rome was that she had had an asp, or two asps,² secretly conveyed to her, and caused herself to be bitten . . . No snake was ever seen, but it was said that some small marks discovered upon the queen's body proved the manner of her death.³

The death of Cleopatra was not without consequences for Jewish history, for all her possessions in Palestine which she had received from Antony were added to Herod's dominions; other cities were also bestowed on him by Octavian, viz. Gadara, Hippos, and Samaria, and the maritime cities of Gaza and Anthedon, and Joppa, and Straton's tower.⁴ Herod was made a recipient of these additional territories on the occasion of his visit to Octavian in Egypt, which took place immediately after the deaths of Antony and Cleopatra. He had, therefore, every reason to congratulate himself on his return as a ruler of a country the extent of which equalled that over which Alexander Jannaeus had held sway.

But while the affairs of the kingdom were in this satisfactory state, Herod received on his return home a dismal welcome. We find a deplorable repetition of what had happened on a former occasion when he had been called away. To understand

² Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 697.

¹ Horace, *Odes*, i. 37.

³ *The Ptolemaic Dynasty*, p. 380 f.

⁴ *Bell. Jud.* i. 395, 396; *Antiq.* xv. 217. Joppa had been previously bestowed upon the Jews by Caesar (see above, p. 339), but after the revolt of Antigonus all concessions were, of course, withdrawn.

the position we must retrace our steps a little. When Herod had been forced to leave his home to appear before Octavian in Rhodes, it will be remembered that he had left his mother-in-law, Alexandra, and his wife under guard in the fortress at Alexandreion. Herod had placed in charge of the fortress a trusted servant, Sohemus of Ituraea; and, as on a former occasion, Herod gave command that if the worst should happen to him both Alexandra and Mariamne were to be put to death. Just as Joseph had done, so now Sohemus betrayed this secret to Mariamne; her anger was naturally aroused, and she let Herod see this on his arrival. But, as previously, Salome and her mother, in their hatred of Alexandra and Mariamne, again accused the latter of adultery, this time with Sohemus; and not only so, but they made the further accusation against her that she had persuaded Sohemus to poison Herod with a love-potion. Without trial Sohemus was put to death. Mariamne was brought before the court for trial; she was condemned to death for adultery and attempt to poison; Josephus says that when this sentence was pronounced Herod did not wish her to be put to death hastily, but that she should first be imprisoned; Salome, however, prevailed upon the king to execute the sentence at once lest trouble should arise among the populace as long as she remained living; she was, therefore, led to execution.¹ It is difficult to feel any sympathy with Herod in his bitter remorse and the grievous illness that laid him low in consequence; Josephus has a good deal to say about this.²

Alexandra soon after suffered a well-deserved fate; in consequence of renewed mischief-making in the hope of dethroning Herod she was put to death.³

One other member of the Hasmonaean house, Kostobarus, the husband of Salome, likewise suffered the death-penalty for treason; this was in 25 B.C. Herod had thus, at last, though through a blood-stained path, reached a position of safety; his worst enemies had been those of his own household.

3. THE PERIOD OF PEACEFUL PURSUITS (25-14 B.C.)

We reach now a period during which, for the most part, peace reigns; a few sporadic disturbances occur, but as in the world in general, so in Judaea, the desire for peace after so many troublous years was realized. Herod's chief preoccupation during these

¹ *Antiq.* xv. 230, 231.

² *Ibid.*, 240-6.

³ *Ibid.*, 247-51.

quiet times will be referred to presently; the general history must be our first concern.

Herod's promise of friendship and loyalty to Octavian, or Augustus as he should now be called, was conscientiously observed. An example of this is incidentally referred to by Josephus, who mentions the more or less abortive campaign of Aelius Gallus against the Arabians in the neighbourhood of the Red Sea; on this occasion Herod sent five hundred soldiers to the assistance of the Roman general 'who were of great service to him there'.¹ Augustus was always ready to recognize faithful service on the part of vassal kings, and conceivably it was in recognition of this goodwill that a year or two afterwards Herod received an accession of territory. Augustus assigned to him the region of Trachonitis, and lying close to it, Batanaea, as well as the country of Auranitis,² embracing approximately the fruitful country of the Old Testament Bashan. The very friendly relations existing between Herod and Augustus is further seen by the fact that the two sons of the former, by Mariamne, namely Alexander and Aristobulus, were sent to Rome to receive an education fitting their position; they were received with all friendliness, and it was permitted them to live in the palace of Caesar.

A minor trouble which Herod had at this time (probably 20 B.C.), but which gives some insight into the unsettled condition of some parts of Syria, was an outcome of the behaviour of one named Zenodorus. Owing to his dissatisfaction about some matters, the details of which Josephus does not give, this man joined a predatory band and took a share of their dishonest gains. The inhabitants complained to Varro, the legate of Syria, who laid the matter before Caesar; that it was sufficiently serious to need this measure indicates the extent of the evil caused in the land by these marauders. Varro was commanded to destroy the nests of robbers and to give the district in which Zenodorus' influence was exercised to Herod. But it was soon seen that something more than 'nests of robbers' needed destroying. Zenodorus must have been something more than a robber

¹ *Antiq.* xv. 317; an account of the campaign is given by Dio Cassius, liii. 29.

² According to Josephus (*Antiq.* xv. 345; *Bell. Jud.* i. 399, 400) these territories were given to Herod as a reward for his action against Zenodorus (see below); but, as he says later that the reward for this was the gift of Zenodorus' land, it would seem that the grant of the territories mentioned above was made on some other occasion.

chief, otherwise he would not have gone to Rome to accuse Herod before Caesar of tyranny; he was also accused by the Gadarenes, who complained to Agrippa;¹ moreover, Zenodorus found allies in the Arabians, who had long been enemies of Herod, and these attempted to raise a revolt in the land. Neither Augustus nor Agrippa believed the accusation brought against Herod, who had done nothing more than try to keep the peace in his country; but the details given by Josephus, and the amount of space he devotes to a discussion of the subject, shows that the internal state of Syria was far from satisfactory at this time.²

But these people were not Herod's subjects in the same sense that the Judaeans were. What was a cause of more serious anxiety to him was the continued dislike felt for him by the Jews of Judaea. He attempted to gain their goodwill by remitting a third part of the taxes; but the deep-seated reason of their enmity towards him could not be removed by such a measure. The mutual distrust existing between Herod and his Jewish subjects is described in detail by Josephus, who tells of the constant murmuring of the people, and of how Herod had always to be on his guard; meetings of the citizens were prohibited; if a mere handful met together they were imprisoned, or even put to death; spies were set to watch the people; even Herod himself, it is said, was not averse from disguising himself and mixing among them to find out what was said about him. Josephus says that the discontent was aroused on account of innovations introduced, of attacks upon their religion, and of interference with their customs. But this must not be understood as of any attempt or desire to abrogate their traditional faith or practices; what the immediate cause of the offence was Josephus shows elsewhere; it was the requirement of the oath of allegiance both to Herod himself and to Caesar.³ The Pharisees and their followers had never regarded Herod as their rightful ruler, nor had they recognized Roman suzerainty; moreover, oaths of allegiance had never before been demanded, and the demand ran counter to Jewish religious susceptibilities. It was sufficiently annoying to Herod to find his subjects refusing him the oath of allegiance; but to refuse it to the suzerain put him in an

¹ *Antiq.* xv. 351. Agrippa, the friend of both Augustus and Herod, was at this time the governor of 'the countries beyond the Ionian sea' (*ibid.*, 350).

² *Ibid.*, 342 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, 368; cp. xvii. 42.

awkward position as regards Caesar. However, the mass of the people submitted, though a small number absolutely refused. Herod utilized the services of the two leading Pharisees, Abtalion and Shemaiah, for whom he had a great regard,¹ and who seem to have been friendly disposed to the king, to persuade the recalcitrant ones to submit; but in vain; Herod forbore from punishing them out of the high respect he had for Abtalion, according to Josephus. It is also interesting to note that the Essenes were excused taking the oath of allegiance owing to the high honour in which they were held by Herod.²

But so far as the great bulk of the people was concerned, whether they acquiesced in this for fear of reprisals, or whether, as in the case of some, they refused point blank, the rift between them and Herod only increased.

Regarding these more obstinate resisters a further word is demanded. They were the extremists, called the 'Zealots' by Josephus,³ who originated as a distinct party in Galilee, under the leadership of Judas,⁴ the son of Ezekias.⁵ Whether they appeared for the first time a few years before Herod's death, or whether it was after Judaea had been made a Roman province again, is not quite certain owing to Josephus' want of clearness in his accounts. They were at one with the Pharisees in regarding it as an act of disloyalty to God, and therefore a sin, to acknowledge Caesar as their king; God alone was the king of Israel. But they differed from the Pharisees, finally breaking with them entirely, in their conception regarding the attitude to be adopted in consequence of this belief. The Pharisees taught that Roman overlordship was to be regarded as a just retribution for national sin, and was therefore to be submitted to in resigned humility until it should please God to remove the yoke. The Zealots regarded themselves as God's instruments who ought to take the initiative in bringing about what they were convinced was the will of God. This difference of attitude showed itself also in the lesser matter of paying taxes; they followed respectively the logical outcome of their convictions: the Pharisees paid; the Zealots refused. Ultimately, with fatal results, the Zealots gained the bulk of the people to their side.⁶

¹ See above, p. 353.

² *Antiq.* xv. 371, and see above, p. 324.
³ Ζηλωταί, *Bell. Jud.* iv. 158 ff., 305 ff., 377 ff., 389 ff.

⁴ *Antiq.* xvii. 271; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 56.

⁵ *Antiq.* xiv. 159; *Bell. Jud.* i. 204.

⁶ See further below, pp. 429, 434 f.

The two attitudes are reflected in an interesting way in the New Testament. Gamaliel, the Pharisee, evidently regarded St. Peter and the Apostles as leaders of an anti-Roman party; but he advised that no action should be taken, because, if the movement were not according to the divine will, it would be brought to an end, as in the case of the Zealot rising under Theudas, and Judas of Galilee.¹ It was natural enough that St. Peter, the Galilaean,² one of whose companions was Simon the Zealot,³ should be regarded, however mistakenly, as following in the steps of the earlier Zealot leaders.

As against the mistaken attitude of the Zealots regarding the paying of taxes, one should note Christ's action recorded in Mark xii. 14-17 and the parallel passages.

But though Herod had his worries during this period of his reign, there were some things upon which he could look back with unfeigned satisfaction.

First, there was the cordial friendship and favour of Augustus, to which a passing reference has been made. A striking illustration of this was the visit of Augustus to Syria in 20 B.C.; it happened at the time of the Zenodorus trouble, when the Gadarenes, incited by him, brought serious charges against Herod before Augustus. In response to these charges Augustus, we read, offered his hand to Herod, in no way altering his goodwill towards him.⁴ It was on this occasion that Herod received from his suzerain all the land, 'which was of no small extent', belonging to Zenodorus. Besides this, Herod was appointed one of the procurators of Syria; in short, as Josephus says, he achieved such prosperity, that 'while there were but two who ruled the immense Roman empire, Caesar and with him Agrippa, yet Caesar esteemed no one higher in friendship than Herod, apart from Agrippa'. A request made by Herod at this time on behalf of his brother Pheroras was also granted, and he was appointed tetrarch of Peraea.⁵ A similar friendship existed between Herod and Agrippa, which was cemented by the love of architecture and grand buildings common to both. We get a pleasant picture of their enthusiastic friendship on the occasion of a visit paid to Herod in Judaea by Agrippa (15 B.C.). Herod entertained

¹ Acts v. 35-9.

² Mark xiv. 70; Luke xxii. 59; and see also Luke xxiii. 6.

³ Luke vi. 15; Acts i. 13; see also Acts ii. 7.

⁴ *Antiq.* xv. 357.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 362; cp. Dio Cass. liv. 9.

his guest royally and took him round the country to show him the new cities he had built and his various fine buildings; he took him to Sebaste (Samaria), and to Caesarea, where he had built a harbour; then he showed him the great fortresses he had strengthened; finally they came to Jerusalem, where they received an enthusiastic welcome from the people. Agrippa responded by offering a hecatomb of sacrifices in the Temple and feasting the people in vast numbers. When, at last, Agrippa had to leave, it was with real regret.¹ It illustrates Herod's friendship for him that he gave his grandson the name of Agrippa in memory of this friend. The picture affords a very pleasant contrast to the endless accounts of rivalries and murders and fightings, of which Josephus' pages are full.

A few further words must be said here about Herod's love of building; his achievements in this respect belong to this period of his reign more especially. It was not merely a question of erecting great buildings, among them many temples, but of founding practically new cities. Foremost among these was Samaria, which received the new name of Sebaste, in honour of Augustus; then there was Caesarea, where Straton's tower had stood, on the coast between Joppa and Dora; the harbour here was protected by a mole together with a wall having ten lofty towers.² He also built the cities of Antipatris, north-east of Joppa, and Phasaelis in the Jordan valley, north of Jericho, in honour of his father and brother, respectively;³ and he entirely renovated the earlier Anthedon, not far north of Gaza, calling it Agrippeion in honour of his friend Agrippa. Then, among the various fortresses in different parts of the country which he either built or strengthened, were Herodeion, Alexandreion, Hyrkania, Machaerus, and Masada; the two latter were further adorned with royal palaces.⁴ In addition to these, many other works of less importance, but of great usefulness, are mentioned, such as public buildings of different kinds, gymnasiums, parks, market-places, streets, baths, wells, pillared ways, &c. But his greatest undertaking was, of course, the building of the Temple; of this we shall have something more to say later.⁵ There can be no sort of doubt that as an architectural enthusiast Herod was a real benefactor; and his fame must have spread into various

¹ *Antiq.* xvi. 15.

² Further details in *Antiq.* xv. 292 ff., 331 ff., xvi. 136 ff.; *Bell. Jud.* i. 401 ff.

³ *Antiq.* xvi. 142 ff. ⁴ *Bell. Jud.* vii. 280 ff.

⁵ See Additional Note L, pp. 376 ff.

other lands, seeing the number of cities outside Judaea which are mentioned as recipients of his generosity¹ in bestowing public buildings and the like.

4. THE LAST PERIOD OF HEROD'S REIGN

It is not possible to follow out in strict chronological order the historical sequence of events during Herod's reign; Josephus is, with exceptions here and there, our only source, and he is anything but clear. This is not, however, of great consequence, as we can get at the facts. There is no doubt that the dominating factor during the last nine years of Herod's reign was the irreconcilable strife in his family.²

In the earlier part of his reign also, as we have seen, there was bitter family strife; it was the women-folk who were then at daggers drawn; during this period the conflict was between his sons. Whatever estimate one may form of Herod's character, justice demands that we should recognize the terrible trial his family must have been to him. Josephus, whose sympathies were inclined towards the Pharisaic party, and who is therefore not always fair in his comments on Herod's doings, makes it, at any rate, clear that by far his worst enemies were the members of his own family.

With most of Herod's numerous wives we are not concerned,³ nor yet with the large number of his children; but four of the former and six of the latter must be mentioned: Doris, his first wife, bore him Antipater; by the first Mariamne (he had two wives of this name) he had, among other children, Alexander and Aristobulus; Malthake, a Samaritan, was the mother of Archelaus and Antipas; and Cleopatra, of Jerusalem, was the mother of Philip.

The family strife which so embittered Herod during these years was, in reality, the taking up again of that quarrel which had raged between Alexandra and Mariamne, on the one side, against Kypros, Herod's mother, and his sister Salome, on the other; that is to say, it was between the Hasmonaeen and Idumaeen branches of the family; the former, of course, by marriage. Herod had learned by bitter experience how

¹ The Jews would have looked upon this 'generosity' rather differently, seeing that the money lavished on these cities had been wrung from them by grievous taxation from which they received no benefit.

² Cp. Schürer, *op. cit.* i. 406.

³ See *Antiq.* xvii. 12-22; *Bell. Jud.* i. 562, 563; and Additional Note K, pp. 373 ff.

ingrained their mutual hatred was; and he sought to keep the peace by intermarrying the two sides of the family; but without effect. Alexander and Aristobulus openly boasted of what they would do to those who had been enemies of their mother when once they came to power; the Idumaeans party retorted by slander, hinting to Herod that these two sons of the Hasmonean Mariamne were conspiring against him. Herod does not seem to have believed these slanders, but nevertheless warned his sons that they were his subjects and must behave as such.¹

As a set-off against these two Herod now recalled to court the son of his first wife Doris, namely Antipater. This turned out, however, to be a fatal mistake; for Antipater made it his aim, by underhand means, so to poison Herod's mind against Alexander and Aristobulus that he himself looked forward to the time when these two would be got out of the way, and thus leave him (Antipater) heir to the throne. His chief card was to hint, probably not without justification in view of the sequel, that these two intended to avenge the death of their mother. Herod decided to bring the matter before Caesar; as a result a reconciliation was brought about between the father and his sons.² But peace did not last long; the mutual animosity was too deep-seated; nor is it easy to believe that the charges brought against the two brothers by Antipater and others were altogether without foundation. Ultimately, Herod was brought to the conviction that his two sons were plotting against his life. Nevertheless, and this must be reckoned to his credit, Herod would do nothing himself; once more he placed the whole matter in the hands of Caesar, sending to him all the evidence, so that there might be an impartial verdict. After examining the incriminating documents Caesar notified Herod that, if after the trial the judges found them guilty, he was at liberty to inflict the punishment of which he thought them worthy—as Roman citizens they could not suffer capital punishment without the imperial permission. On Caesar's advice the trial was held, not in Jerusalem, but at Berytus, before entirely impartial judges. They were found guilty, and, not long after, they suffered the death penalty by strangulation, in Sebaste;³ this took place in 7 B.C.

Antipater had thus accomplished what he had set out to do; but having cleared these two half-brothers out of his path,

¹ *Antiq.* xvi. 66 ff.

² *Ibid.*, 78 ff., 87 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, 357 ff.; *Bell. Jud.* i. 534 ff.

thereby securing for himself the succession, as he thought, he found two others, Archelaus and Philip, also his half-brothers, as new rivals. He had, therefore, to begin his work of underhand intrigue all over again. All the time he was also plotting against Herod's life. The long-drawn-out and unsavoury details of the work of this clever but evil-minded scoundrel need not be gone into;¹ suffice it to say that he was found guilty of attempting to poison Herod; the trial took place under the presidency of the legate of Syria, Quintilius Varus. Antipater was condemned to death, a sentence which, it must be confessed, he richly deserved.

Herod had for some time previously been suffering from a grievous distemper, the nature of which is not indicated; but that it was serious in his eyes is clear from the fact that he made his will.² It became known that the king was suffering from an incurable disease, and the near approach of his death emboldened some of the wilder spirits to commit a rash act which had fatal consequences. It came about in this way: some time before this, Herod had, with great unwisdom, erected over the great gate of the Temple a large golden eagle which he had dedicated to the Temple. This, being a grievous infringement of the Jewish Law, which forbade the representation of any living creature, occasioned much scandal among the people. When it was noised abroad, then, that Herod was nearing his death, two of the leaders of the Pharisaic party, Judas the son of Sariphaeus, and Matthias the son of Margalothus, incited their followers to pull down the golden eagle. Ill as Herod was, he ordered the instigators to be put to death.³ The full consequences of this did not appear until after Herod's death, but by setting up the golden eagle and putting to death men held in great esteem among the people he had added fuel to the fire of hatred felt for him both personally and as the representative of the Roman power in their midst.

Soon after this Herod died (4 B.C.), having lived, as Josephus says, to a very old age.

In estimating the character of Herod it is necessary to emphasize the fact that his immediate environment and the force of circumstances had the effect of bringing out and exaggerating its worst qualities. That he was ruthless by nature does not

¹ See *Antiq.* xvii. 1 ff.; cp. *Bell. Jud.* i. 552 ff.

² *Antiq.* xvii. 146; *Bell. Jud.* i. 645, 646. ³ *Antiq.* xvii. 149 ff.; *Bell. Jud.* i. 648 ff.

admit of doubt; but it may well be questioned whether this would have been so marked a trait in his character had it not been nourished and made to develop by the behaviour of his nearest relatives. With the exception of his wife Mariamne, every case in which the death penalty was suffered by members of his family at his command was because either his life or his throne was threatened. While the horror of these cruelties must be recognized, the fact of extenuating circumstances and the spirit of the times should not be ignored. For the death of Mariamne, however, condemnation must not be mitigated; however justly Herod's suspicions may have been aroused, however jealous he may have been by temperament, however egotistical he was by nature, nothing can excuse this act of wife-murder.

In regard to some of Herod's acts, as recorded by Josephus, it is not easy to decide whether they were prompted by astuteness or by some better motive, though we rather fear that the former is the more likely. Thus, his kindness to prominent Pharisees may have been the outcome of friendliness of disposition, but it may have been prompted by foresighted policy. His attitude before Augustus may have been fearless courage, but it may have been calculated craftiness. Friendliness and the offer of service may well be quite genuine, but they may be, subconsciously, so inextricably entangled with ambition and egotism that it is difficult to say which of these qualities predominated. On the other hand, his kindness to the aged Hyrcanus certainly points to something good in his character, in spite of what Josephus says about this.

Of his great ability as a ruler and as an administrator there can be no doubt, and the high opinion which Augustus had of him proves his worth. His love of beautiful architecture and useful buildings must also be reckoned to his credit.

While there was much that was dark in the character of Herod, we feel that an unbiased consideration of the facts and circumstances justifies the contention that he has been unduly blackened by posterity.

THE FAMILY OF HEROD THE GREAT

THE passages in Josephus in which details of Herod's family occur are: *Antiq.* xiv. 121, 300; xv. 254, 259, 319-21; xvi. 11; xvii. 19-22, 92; xviii. 130-42; xix. 354, 355; *Bell. Jud.* i. 181, 562-6; ii. 217, 220-2. The earliest ancestor of whom we have any information is Antipas, the grandfather of Herod. He was appointed governor of Idumaea by Alexander Jannaeus.¹ Antipas had two sons: Antipater and Joseph. The former of these succeeded his father in the governorship of Idumaea; he married Kypros, who belonged to a leading Idumaeon family;² nothing further is known about her parentage. Antipater and Kypros had four sons and one daughter: Phasael, Herod (the Great), Joseph, and Pheroras; their daughter was Salome.³

Herod the Great had ten wives; Doris, Mariamne I, Mariamne II, Malthake, Cleopatra, Pallas, Phaedra, and Elpis; he also married a cousin, as well as one of his nieces, neither of whose names are recorded, and neither of whom bore him any children. The other wives of Herod bore him children as follows: Doris was the mother of his eldest son Antipater; she is spoken of as belonging to a lower family of Herod's own nation.⁴ By Mariamne I, his favourite wife, he had two sons, Alexander and Aristobulus, and two daughters, Salampsio and Kypros. By Mariamne II, a son, Herod. It is important to note that Mariamne I belonged to the Hasmonaeon house, her mother Alexandra being the daughter, and only child, of Hyrcanus II. Malthake, who was a Samaritan, became the mother of two sons, Archelaus and Antipas, and of one daughter, Olympias. Cleopatra, of Jerusalem, bore him Herod⁵ and Philip. By his wives Pallas, Phaedra, and Elpis, he had respectively Phasael, Roxana, and Salome.

As to the grandchildren of Herod the Great, the main line follows through Aristobulus, one of the sons of Mariamne I. Aristobulus married Berenike, the daughter of Salome, the sister of Herod the Great. Of their five children only three play any part in the history; Herod of Chalkis, Agrippa I, and the well-known Herodias.⁶ The lineal descent here follows through Agrippa I; he married Kypros, the granddaughter of Phasael, brother of Herod the Great,

¹ *Antiq.* xiv. 8-10; *Bell. Jud.* i. 123 ff.

² *Antiq.* xiv. 121; in *Bell. Jud.* i. 181 she is spoken of as belonging to a noble Arabian family. Schlatter (*op. cit.*, pp. 222, 428) believes she belonged to a Jewish family settled in the land of the Nabataeans.

³ She married her uncle Joseph.

⁴ *Antiq.* xiv. 300.

⁵ Josephus says distinctly that Herod the Great had two sons named Herod (*ibid.* xvii. 19, 21).

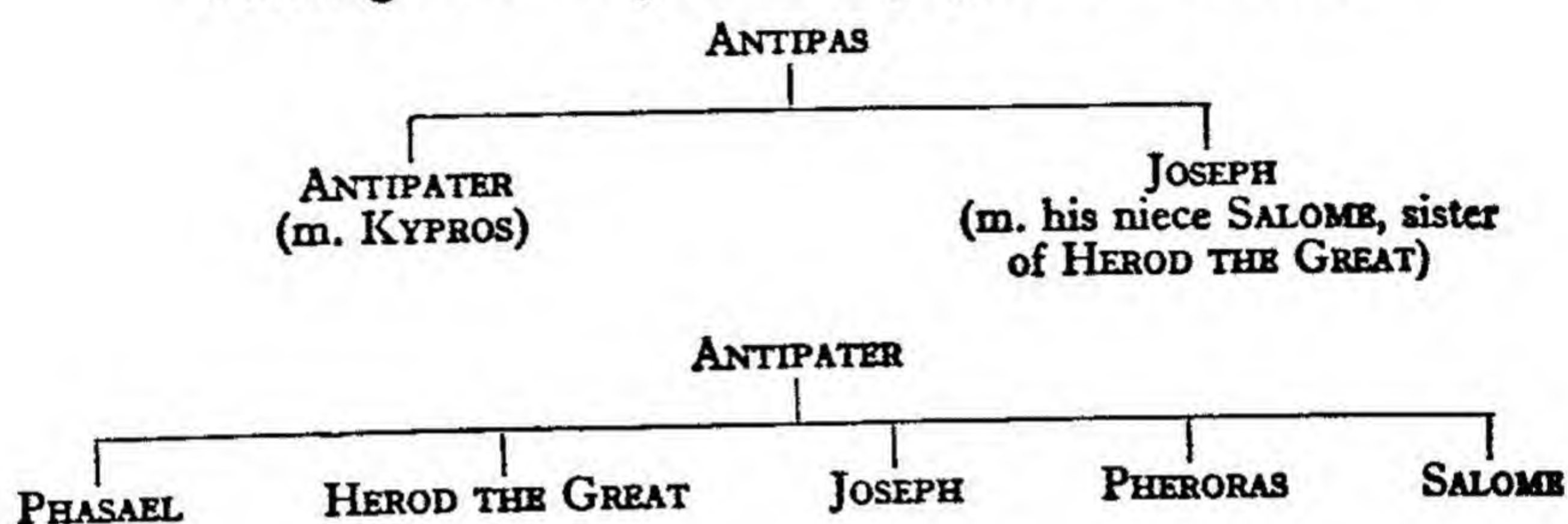
⁶ Herodias married as her first husband her uncle Herod, the son of Mariamne II; they had a daughter named Salome, who married Philip (see below, p. 389 f.).

and they had four children, Agrippa, Berenike, Mariamne, and Drusilla.¹

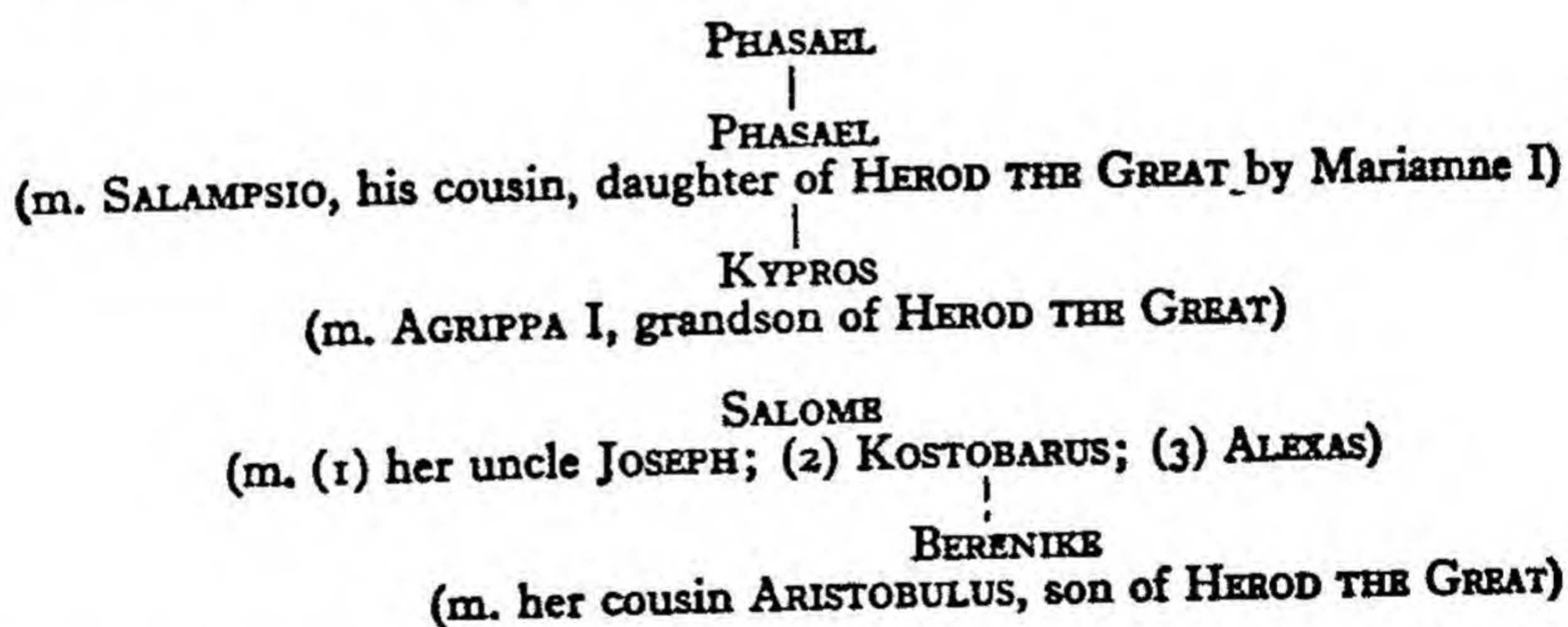
This is as far as the genealogy need be followed for our purposes, but even so, the family relationships are very complicated; the complication is increased by the fact that in some details Josephus is quite obviously wrong, names being sometimes confused (e.g. *Antiq.* xviii. 138, 139). While, in general, we are able to present a fairly clear genealogy, some points still remain obscure, but it will not be necessary to deal with these as they are not of importance.

The following genealogical tree will be found helpful. The genealogy will perhaps be easiest to follow if it is divided in this way:

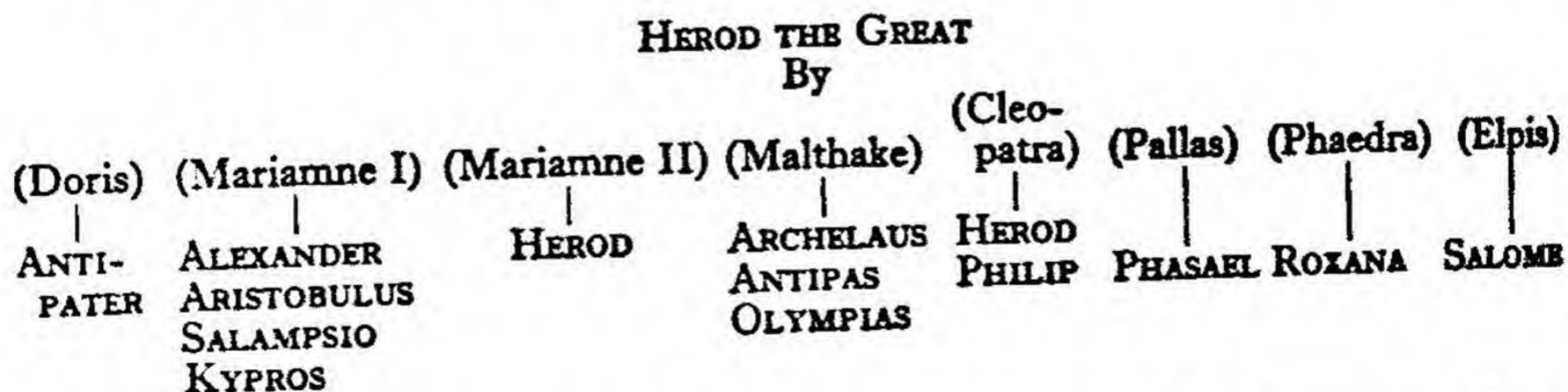
Genealogical Tree of the Family of Herod the Great



Before following the main line of descent through Herod the Great it will be best to deal with the side-lines of Phasael and of Salome, as their descendants play a part in the history.



She had also a son, ANTIPATER, but by which husband is not known.



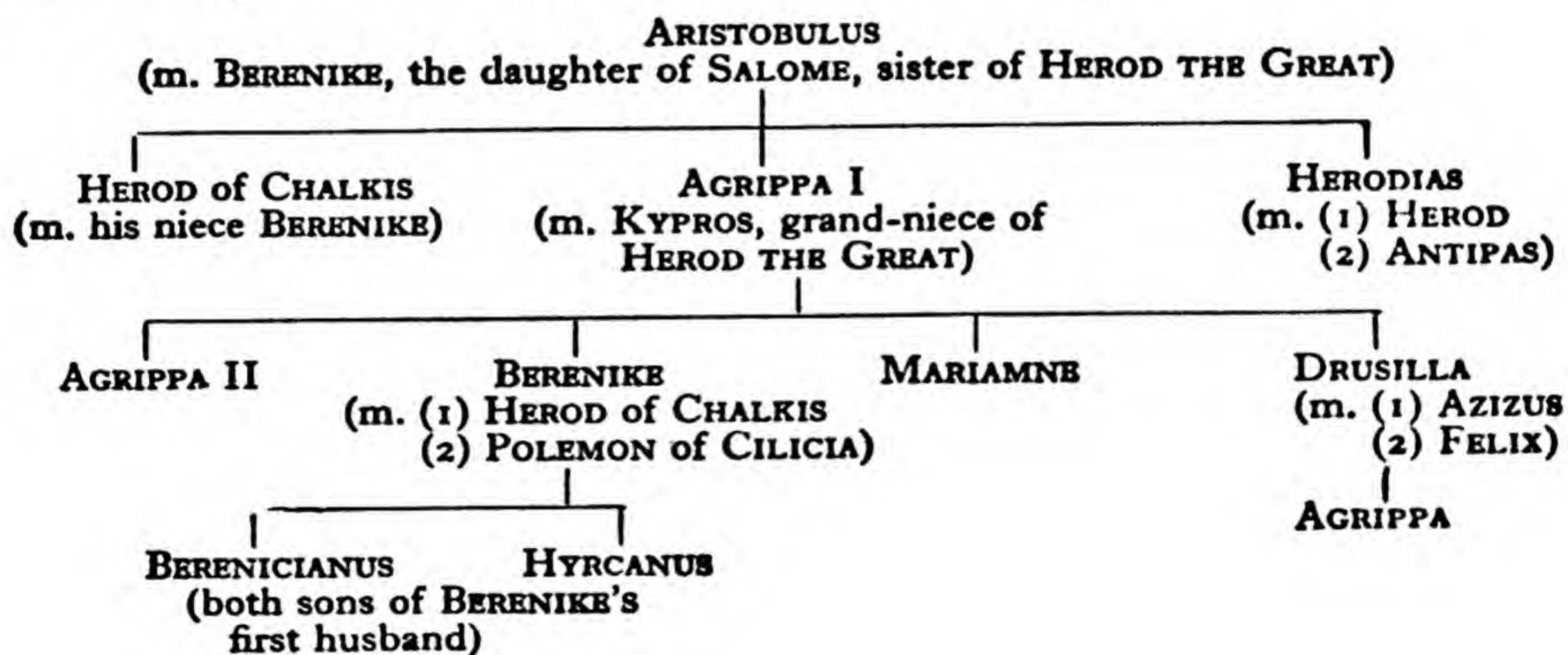
Before following the main line of descent again, through Aristo-

¹ *Bell. Jud.* ii. 220.

bulus, it will simplify matters if we deal briefly with the other children of Herod the Great; in most cases their offspring (if any) are unimportant for the history.

Antipater married the daughter of Antigonus the Hasmonaean (*Antiq.* xiv. 300). Alexander married Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia (*Antiq.* xvi. 11); he had two sons by her (*Antiq.* xvii. 12). Herod, the son of Mariamne II, married his niece Herodias, daughter of Aristobulus (see below), and their daughter married Philip. Salampsio married Phasael (see above; and cp. *Antiq.* xviii. 130). Kypros, according to *Antiq.* xviii. 130, (cp. xvii. 22) married her first cousin, Antipater, the son of Salome, Herod's sister. Archelaus married the widow of his half-brother Alexander, namely, Glaphyra. Antipas married Herodias (see p. 389 f.). Olympias married her cousin Joseph, the son of Joseph, the brother of Herod the Great. The Herod who was Cleopatra's son married a daughter (unnamed) of his brother Aristobulus (*Antiq.* xvii. 14). Philip, as we have just seen, married Salome, the daughter of Herodias. Of Phasael, Roxana, and Salome there is nothing to record.

We turn now again to the main line of descent, namely through Aristobulus, Herod's second son by Mariamne I.



Additional Note L

HEROD'S TEMPLE

A BRIEF description of Herod's Temple in its general outlines is all that is here intended¹ in order that some idea may be gained of this king's love of architecture.

The sources from which our knowledge of the subject is derived are: Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 380-425, *Bell. Jud.* i. 401, v. 184-247, *Contra Ap.* i. 197-9; the Mishnah tractate *Middoth*, and scattered notices in various other Talmudic tractates.

The differences in the descriptions given by the two main authorities are largely to be accounted for by the fact that Josephus is chiefly concerned with depicting the architectural beauty of the whole, while *Middoth* concentrates attention on the Temple itself and its surrounding courts, &c., having a religious purpose in view. Josephus gives a general plan and account of the whole Temple hill, whereas *Middoth* ignores Herod's great buildings exterior to the sacred courts. On the other hand, *Middoth* sometimes gives details not mentioned by Josephus. The two authorities therefore supplement one another.

It was in the eighteenth year of his reign, 20/19 B.C., that Herod began the building. The area needed was double that on which the earlier temple had stood;² in order to obtain the larger space huge substructures had to be erected on account of the uneven ground.³ The entire area was slightly under 400 yards from north to south, and 330 yards from east to west, the length of the southern boundary-line being a little less. The Temple itself stood on an elevation 2,240 feet above sea-level.

The whole of this platform-area was surrounded by a wall with battlements at intervals;⁴ on the interior magnificent colonnades ran along all four sides. Of these the one running along the south wall was the most grandiose; this colonnade, called the 'royal porch', consisted of four rows of Corinthian pillars of white marble, forming three aisles; the side aisles were 30 feet broad and 50 feet high, the centre one being 45 feet broad and 100 feet high.⁵ The colonnade on the east wall was called 'Solomon's Porch'.⁶

On the *west* side of this great outer wall there was, according to the Mishnah,⁷ one gate, the Kiphonos gate, but Josephus mentions

¹ For fuller descriptions see Nowack, *Hebräische Archäologie*, ii. 74-83 (1894); Sanday, *Sacred Sites of the Gospels*, pp. 58-67, 106-17 (1903); see also Schürer in the *Zeitschrift für die N. T. Wissenschaft*, 1906, pp. 51-8.

² *Bell. Jud.* i. 401.

³ *Ibid.* v. 184-9. The immense vaulted chambers built on the south side of the Temple hill are called 'Solomon's stables' by the Arabs.

⁴ *Ibid.* iv. 578.

⁵ *Ibid.* v. 193 ff.; *Antiq.* xv. 411-16.

⁷ *Midd.* i. 3.

⁶ Cp. John x. 23; Acts iii. 11, 12.

four;¹ on the *south* were the two Huldah gates²—these are not mentioned by Josephus, who merely says that the south wall had gates 'in its centre';³ at the northern end of the *east* wall there was the 'Golden Gate' or the 'Shushan Gate',⁴ while on the *north* wall was the 'Tadi Gate'.⁵

The court enclosed by this great wall was known as the 'Court of the Gentiles',⁶ as it could be entered by Gentiles as well as by Jews.

To the north-west of this court lay the Temple itself, rising terrace above terrace, each enclosed court becoming holier and holier.⁷ The Temple *enclave* was surrounded by a balustrade (*sōrēg*); along this were placed at intervals Greek and Latin inscriptions forbidding any Gentile, on pain of death, to enter within the sanctuary.⁸

Within this balustrade a terrace (*chēl*)⁹ ran round on the north, east, and south, having four gates on the north as well as on the south, and one gate on the east; this latter was called the Nikanor,¹⁰ or Beautiful, Gate;¹¹ it was made of brass, and formed the main entrance to the Temple; it was also the largest of all the gates, being fifty cubits¹² in height and forty wide.¹³ All the other gates within the actual Temple area were plated with gold,¹⁴ their height and width being thirty cubits by fifteen.¹⁵ The Nikanor Gate led into the court of the women; this had colonnades along the north and south, and a gallery for the women (hence the name of the court) ran round the north, east, and south,¹⁶ as this court was where the ordinary worship was offered;¹⁷ women did not take part in the worship. Along the west side of the women's court there was a wall dividing it from the court of Israel; a gate which was approached by a semicircular flight of fifteen steps led into this court. The gate was fifty cubits high by forty broad, and it was plated with gold.¹⁸

The variations in our sources makes it difficult to ascertain the

¹ *Antiq.* xv. 410.

² *Midd.* i. 3.

³ *Antiq.* xv. 411.

⁴ *Midd.* i. 3.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 4; a northern gate is mentioned incidentally by Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* vi. 222.

⁶ But neither Philo, nor Josephus, nor the Mishnah give it this name. The Rev. Dr. F. J. Hollis, of King's College, London, informs me that the earliest mention of it, so far as he has been able to find out, occurs in the *Exercitatio Philologica* of Hottingerus, p. 43 (1713-18), where the *Atrium Gentium* is spoken of; but the term is used as though well known.

⁷ So described in the Mishnah tractate, *Kelim*, i. 8.

⁸ *Bell. Jud.* v. 193 f., cp. vi. 124 ff.; *Antiq.* xv. 417; *Midd.* ii. 3. This is also mentioned by Philo, *Leg. ad Gaium*, xxxi. 212. One of the inscriptions, in Greek, was discovered by Clermont-Ganneau; see 'Pal. Explor. Fund', *Quarterly Statement*, 1871, p. 132. It is now in the Tschinili Kiosk Museum in Constantinople.

⁹ *Bell. Jud.* v. 195 f.; *Midd.* ii. 3.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* i. 5.

¹¹ Acts iii. 2, 10.

¹² A cubit was approximately a foot and a half.

¹³ *Bell. Jud.* v. 204 f.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 201.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 202; *Midd.* ii. 3 says twenty by ten.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹⁷ Cp. Luke i. 10.

¹⁸ *Bell. Jud.* v. 204-6.

nature of the division between the court of Israel and the court of the priests;¹ but within what, in any case, was the court of the priests stood the altar of burnt-offering,² covering the sacred rock (2 Chron. iii. 1); it was approached by an inclined plane³ from the south. Within only a few paces to the west from this altar twelve steps led up to the actual Temple 'the Holy Place' (*hēkal*), separated from the court of the priests by a high porch (*'ūlām*),⁴ a hundred cubits both in height and breadth; included in the breadth were twenty cubits projecting on either side beyond the main building, these two 'shoulders' being lower than the central porch.⁵ The door of the porch was covered with gold; and above was spread out a golden vine with its branches hanging down 'from a great height'.⁶ The furniture here consisted of the altar of incense,⁷ the table of shew-bread, and the seven-branched candlestick.⁸ Finally, there was the 'Holy of Holies' (*dēbīr*), twenty cubits in height, length, and breadth, and separated from the holy place by another veil; there were, thus, two veils with the space of a cubit between them.⁹ The height of this building, which included the 'Holy Place' and the 'Holy of Holies', was 100 cubits.¹⁰

When one pictures this wonderful series of buildings, set upon the great mass of supporting walls, with terraces and colonnades, and with one court within another, and rising, as it were, one from the other, all of white marble, with splashes of gold covering the gates, one realizes that it must have been one of the most beautiful buildings ever constructed; and one feels the truth of Josephus' words when he says that, as seen from a distance, the whole gorgeous pile looked 'like a mountain covered with snow'.¹¹

¹ See *Bell. Jud.* v. 207 ff.; *Midd.* ii. 6, 7; iv. 1.

² *Bell. Jud.* v. 225, cp. *Contra Ap.* i. 198; *Midd.* iii. 1.

³ Cp. *Exod.* xx. 26.

⁴ *Bell. Jud.* v. 207. Josephus does not give the height of these 'shoulders'.

⁵ *Antiq.* xv. 394 f.; *Bell. Jud.* v. 210; *Midd.* iii. 8.

⁶ *Bell. Jud.* v. 215-18.

⁷ Cp. *Luke* i. 9.

⁸ *Midd.* iv. 7; *Bell. Jud.* v. 219; this is the 'veil of the temple' mentioned in *Matt.* xxvii. 51.

⁹ *Bell. Jud.* v. 221.

¹⁰ *Bell. Jud.* v. 221.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 223. Tacitus says of it that 'it is distinguished by its wealth, no less than by its magnificence' (*Hist.* v. 8).

Chapter XXIV

THE SONS OF HEROD THE GREAT: JUDAEA UNDER ROMAN PROCURATORS

SUMMARY

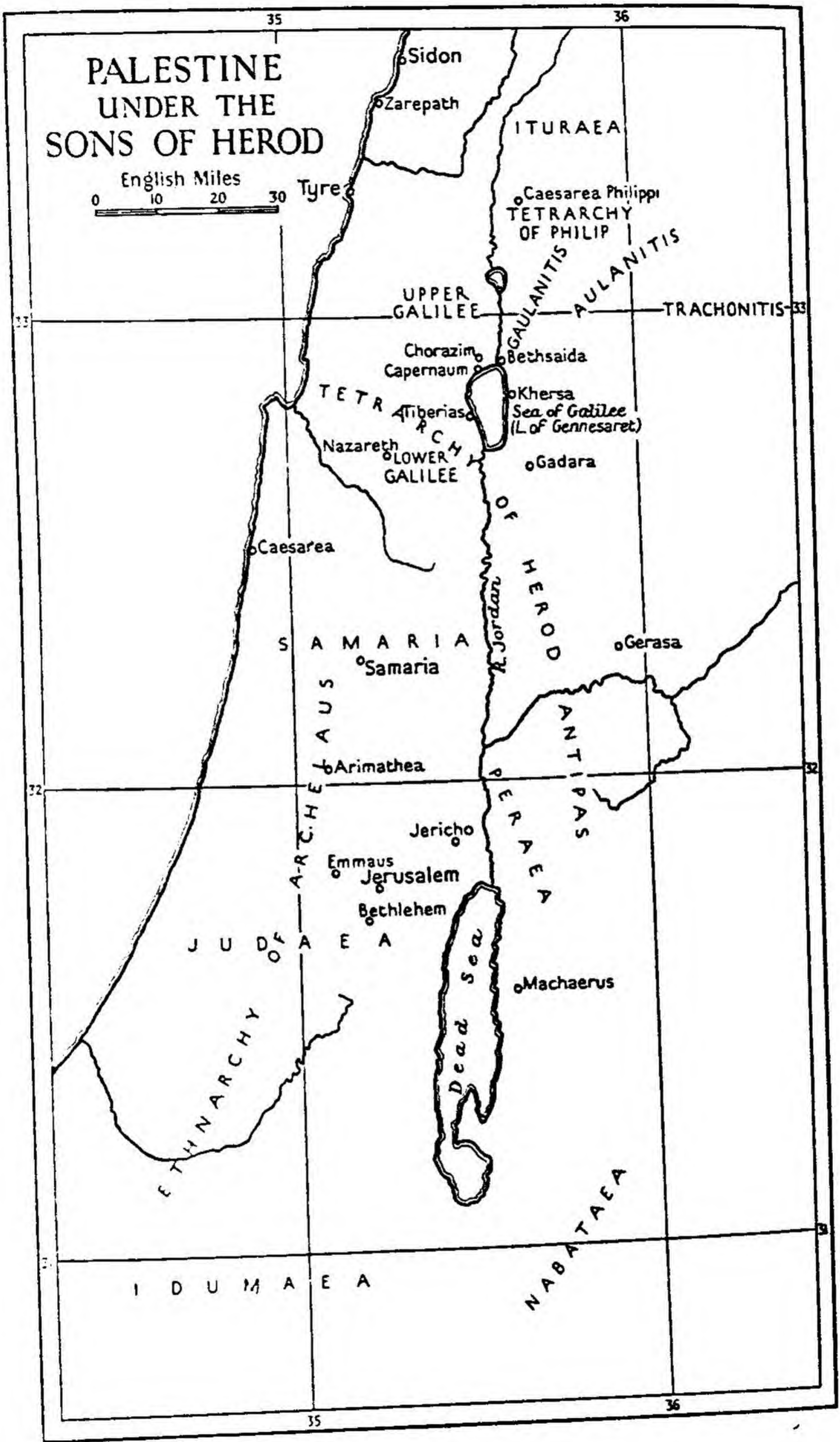
[Archelaus, according to Herod's will, was designated successor to his father in the kingdom. But since the will was not valid until confirmed by Caesar, it was necessary for Archelaus to go to Rome for this purpose. He was for some time prevented from doing this owing to a popular outbreak. Ultimately he went, leaving his half-brother Philip to act for him during his absence. While at the Roman court Archelaus was confronted by his brother Antipas, who also claimed a right to the throne. Soon after, a Jewish embassy arrived, its purpose being to urge upon Caesar the desirability of abolishing the kingship in Judaea, and placing the Jewish people under the immediate rule of Rome. A little later Philip also appeared at the court; he came to support the claims of Archelaus. The result of the various representations made to Caesar was that Archelaus was nominated tetrarch of Judaea, Samaria, and Idumaea, with the prospect of receiving the royal title later, should his action meet with Caesar's approval. Antipas and Philip were also appointed tetrarchs of other districts.]

Archelaus rendered himself highly unpopular among the Jews by his marriage, his arbitrary removal of the high-priest on two occasions, and his generally tyrannical treatment of the people. As a result, he was finally banished to Gaul, and Judaea was governed by procurators. The first of these was Coponius. During his period of office the celebrated census of Quirinius, the legate of Syria, took place. Though this was resented by the Jews, those of Judaea acquiesced; but in other parts, especially in Gaulanitis, it was resisted. The revolt which broke out was quelled.

Several procurators followed Coponius of whom there is nothing to record so far as the Jews were concerned. But Valerius Gratus created much bitterness by his high-handed action in deposing the high-priest and appointing one of his own choice on several occasions.

Pontius Pilate, who became procurator in 26 A.D., did much to wound Jewish susceptibilities. He was equally tactless in his dealings with the Samaritans; as a consequence he was deprived of the procuratorship.

In the meantime Antipas was ruling in Galilee. His ability as a ruler gained him the favour of Tiberius; but he alienated his Jewish subjects by discarding his wife and marrying Herodias. To avenge



the insult to the former, her father Aretas attacked Antipas, and defeated him. Antipas sought help from Rome; but owing to the death of Tiberius this help was not forthcoming. At the instance of Herodias, Antipas went to Rome to seek from Caligula the royal title; but accusations against him had aroused the emperor's suspicions; so that Antipas was deprived of his tetrarchy and banished to Gaul.]

I. ARCHELAUS

ACCORDING to the last will made by Herod, Archelaus was designated his successor in the kingdom; to Antipas he bequeathed Galilee and Peraea, and to Philip, Gaulanitis, Trachonitis, Batanaea, Auranitis, and Panias; they each received also the title of tetrarch.¹ He left also to his sister Salome the cities of Jamnia, Ashdod, and Phasaelis. As the testament could become valid only after it had obtained Caesar's consent,² it was necessary for Archelaus to journey to Rome for the purpose of obtaining this. But for the moment he was unable to do so, because, no sooner had he assumed the conduct of affairs, than a popular outbreak occurred, and this necessarily absorbed his attention. This outbreak was a sinister and eloquent witness to what the feelings which had been entertained for Herod and his house really were. All the pent-up hatred of him, and of the Roman power centred in him, all the rancour roused by the wounding of religious feelings, and all the national aspirations and hopes which, with an iron hand, Herod had kept in check, now burst forth.

True, there was a special cause for this particular outbreak; but it was symptomatic of underlying feelings which had been rankling in the hearts of the people for long. It will be remembered that shortly before Herod's death two prominent Pharisaic leaders, Judas and Matthias, were executed for having incited the mob to remove the golden eagle which had been placed over the great gate of the Temple. No sooner had Archelaus assumed the provisional rulership than the Jerusalem multitude, egged on by the partisans of the two executed Pharisees, approached him with the demand that, in revenge for the

¹ *Antiq.* xvii. 188-90.

² The granting of the royal title could be conferred only by Caesar, with or without the Senate's consent, and it ceased with the death of the recipient; a hereditary monarchy was not recognized by Rome.

death of these two, those who had been honoured by Herod with friendship should be put to death. The opportunity was taken of demanding also the deposition of the High-priest who had been appointed by Herod, and that in his place Archelaus should choose one whose appointment would be more in accordance with the Law, and who would be of purer character.¹ Both requests were granted by Archelaus² (for he was in a hurry to go to Rome), though from what Josephus says subsequently it is evident that Archelaus had no real intention of granting the first—so, at any rate, the people thought. But it is clear enough, as will be pointed out, that what was being actually aimed at by the populace went much farther. It happened to be just about the time of the Passover, when Jerusalem was overcrowded with excited and irresponsible country-folk from all sides; in order to keep in check the multitude, ‘infected with madness’, Archelaus sent a large contingent of soldiers, hoping that thereby the peace might be kept. It had, as might have been expected, the contrary effect; passions were inflamed, and as a result three thousand Jews were massacred. That brought quiet—on the surface. But the seriousness of the whole matter in the eyes of the authorities may be gathered from the fact that Varus, the Syrian legate, advanced against Jerusalem with three legions.

In the meantime, Archelaus departed for Rome, leaving his brother Philip in charge during his absence. On his arrival in Caesarea he encountered the procurator in Syria,³ Sabinus, who was on his way to lay hands on Herod’s goods; Archelaus appealed to Varus, who forbade Sabinus to gratify his cupidity. Then Varus, as already mentioned, advanced on Jerusalem, whence, having quelled another incipient outbreak, and having left a legion to keep watch over the people, he returned to Antioch.

With Archelaus on his way to Rome and Varus away in Antioch, Sabinus determined to carry out his purpose of appropriating whatever treasures he could lay his hands on. He

¹ νομιμώτερόν τε ἅμα καὶ καθαρόν . . . (*Antiq.* xvii. 297).

² There were other requests of a more general character and therefore not of the same importance: remission of some of the imposts and release of prisoners; these also Archelaus promised to grant (*ibid.*, 205).

³ Sabinus was not procurator in the ordinary sense of governor, but was in Syria for the purpose of looking after Caesar’s properties in the province. On the two different kinds of procurator see Additional Note F, p. 464.

therefore went to Jerusalem, seized the royal palace, and robbed the Temple of its treasure. This, of course, inflamed the Jews again, and there followed bitter fighting and endless bloodshed; eventually the Jews were once more subdued.¹

We may pause here for a moment to mark whither Jewish aims were tending. During Herod's reign the hatred of Roman suzerainty was overshadowed by the bitterness felt for the Idumaeans personally. A considerable section of the Jews would have acquiesced in Roman rule if the family of Herod could have been removed. This may be gathered from what Josephus records as having been spoken by the Jewish embassy which arrived in Rome soon after Archelaus (see below). The members of this embassy represented 'those who hoped for the abolition of the kingly government'; and in their appeal to Caesar the main thing they wanted was that 'they might be delivered from kingly and like forms of government, and be attached to Syria, and be subject to those officers who might be sent'. They belonged thus to a body of men holding the ideals of the earlier Pharisees and their spiritual forbears, the *Chasidim*; and, though earnest patriots, they held that true patriotism consisted in the observance of the Law and in waiting in quiet resignation for the divine setting-up of a theocratic kingdom which would bring about the supremacy of Israel. The attitude adopted by them was anti-Pharisaic, in so far that they would have nothing to do with the political ideals and militant Messianism with which a considerable section of the Pharisaic party had now identified itself; but they were Pharisees in that they clung to the original Pharisaic ideal of loyalty to the Law and to the traditions of the fathers. They may, therefore, be described as Pharisaic Quietists; their general outlook, together with their aspirations and ideals, can be seen in the apocalyptic writing called *The Assumption of Moses*.

Very different from these, who formed but a small minority of the nation, was the attitude of the bulk of the people, and especially of the wilder spirits among the country-folk.² To these any alien temporal rule was abhorrent; their fanatical

¹ *Antiq.* xvii. 252-98.

² i.e. the Zealots; they had, of course, been in existence long before (see above, p. 366 f.), but it was at this time, probably under the inspiration of Judas of Gamala and the Pharisee Zadok, that they formed themselves into the definite party of the Zealots (*Antiq.* xviii. 4). Josephus calls Zealotism a 'system of philosophy' (*ibid.*, 9).

hatred of Rome could not be appeased by any concessions because it was prompted by something which from the nature of the case the Romans could not understand. What these people wanted, and what they were expecting, was entire national independence under a ruler who should be God's regent on earth. To them the Romans were not merely the enemies of the Jews, they were the enemies of God; every Jewish life sacrificed in this cause cried out for vengeance on God's behalf. Religious fanaticism is always half blind because it is so concentrated; so that the blood poured out during the riots recently quelled by Archelaus, Varus, and Sabinus only increased the zeal for vindicating God's honour which had been outraged by the oppressors of His people.

There were thus these two attitudes—the more virulent gaining the upper hand—which are to be noted in all the history which follows.

But to return. To obtain Caesar's acquiescence in and confirmation of Herod's testamentary dispositions Archelaus hurried to Rome; he was shortly afterwards followed by Antipas, who came to contest the throne with his brother. While these two were urging their claims before Augustus, the Jewish embassy, mentioned above, came to plead for the abolition of kingly rule over them altogether; and, lastly, Philip joined his brother Archelaus to support him in his claims.¹

After weighing the claims of each of these, Augustus decided as follows: Archelaus received Judaea and Samaria, and, of course, Idumaea, with the title of ethnarch, the royal dignity being for the present reserved; but it was promised to him at some future time, provided he governed satisfactorily.² Antipas was appointed tetrarch of Galilee and Peraea, and also the districts east of Jordan inhabited by Jews. Philip was made tetrarch of the more northerly districts of Batanaea, Trachonitis, and Auranitis.³

Thus, while Archelaus received the lion's share, his brother and inveterate enemy, Antipas, was able to rule independently of him; and the same applied to his more friendly half-brother, Philip. None of the three could, however, be compared with

¹ *Antiq.* xvii. 317 ff.; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 93 ff.

² He is called 'king' in *Antiq.* xviii. 93 (cp. *Matt.* ii. 22), but the evidence of coins is against his ever having received the royal title (see Schürer, *op. cit.* i. 451).

³ *Antiq.* xvii. 319; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 95.

their father in force of character or in ability as ruler. In one respect they all sought to follow his example, namely, in architectural activity. In the case of Archelaus it was the Temple in Jerusalem which received special attention; the damage done within recent years was made good, and the whole was greatly beautified;¹ he also restored the royal palace in Jericho and built an aqueduct to water the palm-groves which he had planted in the plain to the north of this city; in his own honour he built the village of Archelaïs, in the neighbourhood of which palm-groves were also planted.² Antipas and Philip, especially the latter, surpassed their brother in what they accomplished in the same direction.³

It was unfortunate that of these three sons of Herod the one least adapted by character and capability, Archelaus, should have been ruler of Judaea and thus in closest touch with the Jews. We have but scanty details of his reign of ten years, but they are sufficient to show that the relations between him and his subjects were unhappy. It is evident that he was quite out of sympathy with Jewish aspirations, and without any consideration for the feelings of his people. Three matters illustrative of this are mentioned by Josephus, and they show clearly enough why the Jews were so embittered against their ruler. The first of these was his marriage with Glaphyra, and the casting-off of his own wife, Mariamne. This Glaphyra was the widow of Alexander, the brother of Archelaus, by whom she had had three children; in thus transgressing the 'Law of the fathers' Archelaus deeply shocked Jewish susceptibilities. He further increased the feelings against himself by arbitrarily removing the High-priest on two occasions. In addition to these causes of irritation, what Josephus speaks of as his 'barbarous and tyrannical' behaviour aggravated the people to such an extent that Caesar was appealed to by them to remove him from being their ruler.⁴ In consequence of this Archelaus was banished to Vienne, in Gaul; and Judaea was henceforth governed by a procurator; thus was fulfilled the desire made to Augustus by the Jewish embassy which came to Rome after Herod's death.⁵

¹ Schlatter, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

² *Antiq.* xvii. 340.

³ For Antipas see *ibid.* xviii. 36 ff.; for Philip, xviii. 28.

⁴ Dio Cassius (lv. 27, 6) says that the brothers of Archelaus were his accusers.

⁵ *Antiq.* xvii. 342-4; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 111.

2. JUDAEA UNDER ROMAN PROCURATORS

Although Judaea was part of the Roman province of Syria, the procurator¹ by whom it was now governed had in some respects the authority of a provincial governor, and had power to act in various capacities independently of the Syrian legate. It is possible that he was accorded this authority on account of the distance of Judaea from the legate's head-quarters. But that he was subordinate to the legate when matters of special importance arose is seen from the fact that it was Quirinius who carried out the census² during the procuratorship of Coponius (*circa* A.D. 6-9), the first to hold this office.

This census, undertaken for the purposes of taxation, was the cause of much bitter feeling among the Jews. This is not altogether a matter for surprise; for, although it was a reasonable and necessary measure from the Roman point of view, it brought home to each individual, as never before, the fact of his being under foreign domination. It is true that in Judaea itself, owing primarily to the influence of the High-priest Joazar, the resentment was seen to be unreasonable, and opposition soon ceased. But not so among the unruly elements in other parts, above all in the more or less permanent centre of unrest, Gaulanitis, on the east of Jordan. Here Judas of Gamala, who on a previous occasion³ had taken the lead in causing trouble, was again to the fore. He was joined by a Pharisee named Zadok, and between them they stirred up a revolt which developed considerable proportions; as always in such cases, they attracted the riff-raff and the dregs of society, so that the marauding bands became a terror to the land. The trouble must have been grave to have been recalled in later days,⁴ and it is certain that this rising, taken in conjunction with the previous one under the same chieftain, sowed the seeds of the war which culminated in the catastrophe of A.D. 70. The present revolt was abortive, but it set an evil precedent.

The census and the taxation were, however, satisfactorily concluded; but why hereupon Joazar was deprived of the High-

¹ For this title Josephus uses indiscriminately *ἐπίτροπος*, *ἡγεμών*, and *ἐπαρχος*.

² It did not apply to Judaea alone, but to the whole province of Syria. It is mentioned several times by Josephus: *Antiq.* xvii. 355; xviii. 1 ff.; xx. 102; *Bell. Jud.* vii. 253.

³ See above, p. 366.

⁴ See Acts v. 37; the Theudas mentioned in verse 36 revolted later, in the days of Claudius; see below, p. 430.

priesthood by Quirinius,¹ Josephus does not say. The fact is, however, a further illustration of the legate's power, if, as we must presumably gather, he acted independently of the procurator.

A curious incident is recorded about this time which throws a sidelight on the relations between the Samaritans and the Jews: on one of the days during the Passover festival some Samaritans entered the Temple at the opening of the gates and scattered 'dead men's bodies' in the cloisters. The incident, of which Josephus gives no further details, shows the bitter feelings of the Samaritans against the Jews; and yet, as Josephus incidentally adds, previous to this the Samaritans attended the festivals in the Temple.²

Shortly after this Coponius returned to Rome and was succeeded in the procuratorship by Marcus Ambibulus³ (*circa* A.D. 9-12). After him came Annius Rufus (*circa* A.D. 12-15); of neither of these is anything recorded affecting the Jews. Then there followed Valerius Gratus (A.D. 15-26);⁴ he appears to have acted in a high-handed way in the matter of depriving the High-priest of his office and appointing a nominee of his own; a proceeding which would certainly have caused exasperation; Josephus gives the names of Ananus, Ishmael, Eleazar, Simon, Caiaphas, who were High-priests during his eleven years of office. In the year A.D. 26 Pontius Pilate became procurator. Josephus gives an interesting account of his first contact with the Jews, which shows him to have been both unwise and stubborn in character. Doubtless the statement that he came 'to abolish the Jewish laws' is an exaggeration; but his folly in insisting on the Roman troops bringing into Jerusalem ensigns bearing the emperor's effigy is manifest; former procurators had purposely refrained from doing this in order not to offend Jewish susceptibilities. When the crowds came beseeching him to remove the images he turned a deaf ear to them; on their still persisting he made his troops surround them, telling them that, if they did not immediately withdraw, the result would be fatal for them. Nevertheless, the people resolutely stood their ground, whereupon Pontius Pilate saw it was wiser to give way.⁵

¹ *Antiq.* xviii. 26.

² *Ibid.*, 29, 30.

³ The text has 'Αμβιβουχος, which, according to Niese, is a corruption, and should be 'Αμβιβουλος (*ibid.*, 31).

⁴ *Ibid.*, 33; the dates are those given by Schürer, *op. cit.* i. 487.

⁵ *Antiq.* xviii. 55 ff. The incident is referred to by Eusebius, *Demonstr. Evangel.* viii. 2 (403), quoting Philo, *Leg. ad Gaium*, § 38: 'Pilate laid up in the Temple by

Another instance of his unnecessarily arousing the anger of the Jews is recorded by Josephus; Pilate wished to improve the water-supply of Jerusalem, in itself an admirable project; but to pay for this he utilized the money belonging to the Temple treasury.¹ Obviously, the alienation of money given for sacred purposes was certain to arouse feeling; but instead of trying to conciliate the people, Pilate commanded his soldiers to mix among the crowd disguised as citizens and to carry clubs concealed; at a given signal they fell upon the Jews, beating them with these weapons. The uproar was quelled, but at the expense of nourishing suppressed fury.²

But Pilate showed himself equally lacking in tactful rulership in his attitude towards the Samaritans. On one occasion, an impostor represented to the Samaritans that he knew the spot where Moses had buried their sacred vessels under Mount Gerizim. He gathered together a great multitude—Josephus mentions that they were armed—at a village named Tirathana in order to lead them up the mountain; but Pilate, having got wind of this, sent a force of horsemen and footmen, who attacked the assembled multitude in the village, killing some and putting others to flight. While it is doubtless true that Pilate might have acted in a more statesmanlike manner, the fact that the multitude came armed, and that Josephus speaks of ‘an engagement taking place’,³ makes it possible that we have here the case of an attempt of some false Messiah to assert himself,⁴ just as had happened also among the Jews.⁵ If this was so there may have been some justification for Pilate’s action. However this may be, it turned out badly for him; the Samaritans sent a deputation to Vitellius, the legate, complaining of the way they had been treated. As a result, Pilate was relieved of his office and ordered to go to Rome in order to render an account of himself to the emperor. In his place Marcellus was appointed procurator of Judaea (A.D. 36). He can have occupied the office only for a short time, for in the next year Caligula sent Marullus to be procurator.⁶

night the imperial emblems, and from that time the Jews were involved in rebellion and mutual troubles.’¹ ‘The sacred treasure called Corban’, *Bell. Jud.* ii. 175.

² *Antiq.* xviii. 60 ff. On the passage which follows referring to Christ see the careful excursus by Thackeray, *Selections from Josephus*, pp. 182–91 (1919).

³ παρατάξεως γενομένης (*Antiq.* xviii. 87).

⁴ See, further, Gaster, *The Samaritans*, p. 91 (1923).

⁵ Acts v. 36, 37 (Theudas); cp. Matt. xxiv. 5, 6; Mark xiii. 21, 22. ⁶ *Antiq.* xviii. 237.

Before we deal with the further history of Judaea,¹ a few words must be said about the other sons of Herod.

3. PHILIP

Philip's rule had little or no bearing on Jewish history, and only the scantiest details have been preserved. He was a great friend to Rome, and evidently a conscientious and just ruler; he reigned for thirty-seven years; Josephus speaks of him in the following high terms: 'He exhibited a mild and peaceable spirit in governing. He abode permanently in the land which was subject to him. In his goings forth he had with him but a few chosen friends, and the seat on which he sat for judgement he always had with him. Whosoever any met him who needed his help, he caused his seat to be set down without delay, wherever he happened to be, and heard the case; the guilty he ordered to be punished, and those unjustly accused he released.'²

4. ANTIPAS

In the meantime Antipas, the most capable and astute of the three brothers, was ruling in Galilee. In his case, again, very little is recorded, apart from his zeal for building; and it is mainly in respect of the later years of his reign that some details are given. Thus, soon after A.D. 26, he built Tiberias as his capital; it was situated, as Josephus says, in the best region of Galilee,³ on the western shore of the lake of Gennesareth, not far from Emmaus. This he did in honour of Tiberius, with whom he stood in high favour. It may well be that the emperor's favour was a result of Antipas' successful government; to keep the peace was always regarded as a high merit by Rome; and that Antipas managed to hold the turbulent Galilaeans in check—for had there been outbreaks Josephus would certainly have made some reference to them—is a tribute to his good administration.

On the other hand, his marriage with the Gentile daughter of the Arabian king, Aretas, must have been regarded with great disfavour by his Jewish subjects. And this was aggravated, as we know from the Gospels, when later he discarded his wife in order to marry Herodias.

The Gospel record on this point is a little ambiguous: Mark vi. 17 speaks of Herodias as the wife of Philip, the brother of Herod

¹ See below, pp. 393 ff.

² *Antiq.* xviii. 106, 107.

³ *Ibid.*, 36.

Antipas, though the first hand of Cod. B omits 'wife'. Matt. xiv. 3 likewise speaks of Herodias as the wife of Philip, the brother of Herod Antipas, though Cod. D and other important Old Latin MSS. omit 'Philip'; Luke iii. 19 has simply 'Herodias his brother's wife'. This uncertainty is quite comprehensible; it is easily explained in the light of the detailed enumeration of the posterity of Herod the Great given by Josephus (see above, pp. 373 ff.). Among Antipas' brothers (half-brothers) were Herod who married Herodias, and Philip; Herod and Herodias had a daughter, Salome, who married Philip; so that Herodias was not the wife of Philip, but his mother-in-law. It is the third Gospel, therefore, which has retained the original reading. The probability seems to be that the addition of 'Philip' in the other Gospels was a later inaccurate addition to the text, made by a scribe who happened to know that Herod Antipas had a brother named Philip, and thought that he was Herodias' husband, not realizing that Herod, her husband, was a different man from Herod Antipas.

John the Baptist undoubtedly voiced the popular feeling in rebuking the ruler for his unlawful act, and it is conceivable that the Baptist was put to death because Antipas feared trouble from his followers; an outbreak such as might have arisen among the fanatics was, above all things, what Antipas wished to avoid; without a leader the danger was far less. On the other hand, according to the Gospel account, Antipas was grieved at having to fulfil a rash promise by executing the prophet whom he clearly held in honour; and that the Baptist was the victim of Herodias' rancour may well have been a factor in the case.¹

Antipas' treatment of his wife naturally aroused her indignation; she fled to her father, who avenged his daughter's dishonour by attacking and completely defeating the Judæan ruler; this, according to Josephus, was looked upon by the Jews as a mark of divine wrath for the murder of John the Baptist.² Antipas' only recourse lay in seeking help from Rome. This was accorded, and the emperor Tiberius commanded Vitellius, the legate of Syria, to deal with Aretas. But while Vitellius was yet on his way to carry out the emperor's command, news came of the death of Tiberius (March A.D. 37), and no further action was taken.

Soon after Caligula, the successor of Tiberius, had assumed the purple, Antipas, egged on by the ambition of Herodias,

¹ Mark vi. 14-29; Matt. xiv. 1-12; Luke ix. 7-9. For Josephus' estimate of the Baptist see *Antiq.* xviii. 116 ff.

² *Ibid.*, 119.

came to him with the request that he might be given the royal title. But accusations were brought against him which aroused in Caligula suspicions regarding his vassal's loyalty. Antipas was thereupon deprived of his tetrarchy, and banished to Gaul, whither Herodias accompanied him.¹

¹ Ibid., 245-56.

Chapter XXV

HEROD AGRIPPA I

SUMMARY

[Agrippa's upbringing at the Roman court had the effect of making him extravagant and dissolute. So much so, that ultimately the debts he had contracted compelled him to leave Rome. In Idumaea, whither he fled, he was in danger of committing suicide in his despair of ever being able to retrieve his fortunes. From this step he was saved by his wife, through whose good offices an opening was found which gave him some chance of starting life afresh. Nevertheless, he threw away various opportunities of gaining a living, with the result that he was once more plunged into dire poverty. He then determined to try his fortune once more in Rome; after considerable difficulty he managed to arrive there, and through the influence and help of friends he was able to reinstate himself. But before long he got himself into trouble again; this time it was owing to unwary speech, which was in effect treasonable; by the order of Tiberius he was thrown into prison. On the death of Tiberius not long after, Caligula came to the throne; as he and Agrippa had been on very friendly terms, the new emperor not only released Agrippa from prison, but raised him to great honour by giving him the title of king and endowing him with the tetrarchies which had been held by Philip and Lysanias.

Agrippa continued to live a life of enjoyment at the Roman court for over a year, basking in the sunshine of the emperor's favour. Then, at last, he bethought him of his duties and set out for Palestine. Soon after his arrival there he received from Caligula the tetrarchy hitherto held by Antipas, his brother-in-law. A serious difficulty now arose owing to the command of Caligula that his statue should be set up in the Temple at Jerusalem; such a thing could not fail to arouse the resistance of the Jews; his murder in 41 A.D. averted a catastrophe which would have had serious and far-reaching consequences.

The death of Caligula, the friend of Agrippa, might have been awkward for the latter but for his astuteness in ingratiating himself with the new emperor, Claudius. He was confirmed in his kingdom and was granted in addition both Judaea and Samaria, so that he was now ruler of all the territories which had belonged to his grandfather, Herod the Great.

For the remaining years of his life it must be said to the credit of Agrippa that he did his utmost to gain the favour both of his Jewish and Gentile subjects. He died in A.D. 44.]

I. THE EARLY YEARS OF AGRIPPA

THE intermarriage among the members of the Herodian family is somewhat complicated, so that an introductory word on the subject is necessary here. Three persons of the first generation come into consideration in the present connexion: Herod the Great, his sister Salome, and his brother Phasael. Similarly, three persons of the second generation come into consideration: Aristobulus, the son of Herod; Berenike, the daughter of Salome; and Phasael, the son of Phasael. Of these Aristobulus married his cousin Berenike. In the third generation there are two names to be mentioned: Agrippa, the son of Aristobulus and Berenike; and Kypros, the daughter of Phasael and his cousin Salampsio. These last two, Agrippa and Kypros, became husband and wife; they were both grandchildren of Herod the Great.¹ This Agrippa is the ruler with whom we are about to deal.

Shortly before his death Herod the Great had sent the six-year-old Agrippa, under his mother Berenike's care, to be educated in Rome. In later days it turned out to have been of considerable advantage to Agrippa that his mother became the intimate friend of Antonia, the widow of Drusus.² We have no details of Agrippa's earlier years in Rome, but the extravagance and self-indulgence characteristic of him as a young man were no doubt fostered by his early friendships at the Roman court; as the companion of princes he naturally fell into extravagant ways. Like his friend Caligula he associated with 'corrupt young Hellenistic princes, who were resident in Rome either as hostages or to press their claims to one or other of the Eastern crowns'.³

While his mother was alive she was able to keep some check on him; but after her death he plunged into a life of luxury and expense to such an extent that it brought him to poverty, and he was obliged to leave Rome.⁴ He came to Judaea, but here he was soon so harassed by his creditors that he fled to Idumaea, where he shut himself up in a tower at a place called Malatha. His condition became so desperate that he had thoughts of

¹ For fuller details see above, pp. 373 ff.

² The stepson of Augustus; his mother was Livia.

³ Rostovtzeff, *A History of the Ancient World*, ii. 213 (1927).

⁴ *Antiq.* xviii. 145. He appears to have spent large sums in bribes to Caesar's freedmen, through whose influence he hoped to advance in Court circles.

committing suicide. Thanks to his wife, Kypros, he was prevented from this. She appealed to Herodias, his sister, asking her to exert her influence on her husband Herod Antipas, the tetrarch, to help. The appeal succeeded, and Agrippa received an official appointment in Tiberias. Soon after, however, a quarrel broke out between Antipas and Agrippa, and the latter gave up his post. Then he went to Flaccus, who had been one of his friends in Rome, and was now the Syrian legate, living in Antioch. Flaccus treated him well, but unfortunately Agrippa came into contact here with his brother Aristobulus, with whom he had quarrelled; the position soon became impossible as he also fell out with Flaccus. Being once more reduced to dire poverty, he determined, as a last resource, to go to Rome again to see if anything could be got out of some of his old friends there. But the trouble was that he had no money to pay for his journey. However, he managed to borrow this at high interest, and was on the point of starting for Italy when he was stopped by the procurator of Jamnia, Herennius Capito, with the demand for a large sum of money which Agrippa had formerly borrowed from the imperial treasury. Agrippa promised to pay, but slipped off at night, and reached Alexandria. Here, through the good offices of his wife, who had accompanied him, he managed to borrow from Alexander the Alabarch¹ 200,000 drachmae; she then returned to Judaea and left him to continue his journey to Rome.² On his arrival at Puteoli he sent a letter of respectful salutation to Tiberius, who gave him a cordial welcome when he reached Rome. All might have been well now with Agrippa, had not Herennius Capito written to Tiberius, complaining of Agrippa, and telling the emperor of the large debt owed to the treasury by him. At once Tiberius' attitude changed; he dismissed Agrippa until the debt should have been paid. Here it is that Antonia, mentioned above, came to the rescue. She lent him the money to pay this debt because of the friendship there had existed between his mother and herself; she was also the means of reconciliation between Tiberius and Agrippa. In accordance with the emperor's wish, Agrippa became the companion of his grandson, Tiberius Gemellus, though he was more drawn to his benefactress's grandson (also a grandson of Tiberius by adoption), Caius Caligula,³ the future emperor. Agrippa had now a fresh start;

¹ He was the brother of Philo the Philosopher. ² *Antiq.* xviii. 147 ff. ³ *Ibid.*, 166.

for he was free from pecuniary embarrassment, seeing that, as the friend of such men as Tiberius Gemellus and Caligula, there was no difficulty in borrowing; but he soon involved himself in serious trouble by an unwary utterance. Driving one day with Caligula in his chariot, he remarked that it would be a great thing if Tiberius died, so that the government might devolve on his grandson Caligula. This was overheard by the chariot-driver, Eutyches, through whom it came to the ears of the emperor; the result was that Agrippa was thrown into prison. Here he remained for six months, until, on the death of Tiberius, Caligula¹ came to the throne and immediately released his friend. Not only so, but by way of consoling him for his months of imprisonment, Caligula bestowed on him the vacant tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias, with the title of king.²

2. AGRIPPA AND CALIGULA

Caligula came to the throne in A.D. 37; in this year, therefore, Agrippa was made king of the tetrarchies which had been ruled over by Philip and Lysanias.³ He was, however, in no hurry to exercise his kingship in his own lands. The newly acquired power of being able once more to enjoy life in Rome as the emperor's intimate friend was too attractive. For over a year he continued this life, and then only parted from Caligula with the promise of returning as soon as he had settled affairs in Palestine.⁴ Here his appearance as king and as the emperor's favourite excited the amazement of all when they thought of the abject, poverty-stricken figure he had presented the last time they had seen him.⁵ It is small wonder that the envy of his sister Herodias was aroused; formerly it had been out of pity that her husband had, through her good offices, offered him a somewhat humble office; now, as king, he could look down upon the tetrarch. Herodias therefore urged her husband to go with her to Rome to seek the royal title from the emperor. At first Antipas refused to entertain the idea; but ultimately his

¹ He was the only member (by adoption) of the Julian family living.

² *Antiq.* xviii. 168 ff. Philip had recently died, A.D. 34; of Lysanias nothing further is recorded.

³ i.e. the north-eastern districts on the other side of Jordan, and the country farther north, the land that lay about mount Libanus (*ibid.* xix. 274 ff.).

⁴ *Ibid.* xviii. 238.

⁵ Regarding the occurrences at Alexandria, where Agrippa stayed on his way to Palestine, see below, p. 405 f.

wife's importunity gained the day, and preparations were made for their departure. In the meantime news of the proceedings having come to the ears of Agrippa, he immediately took measures to counteract the plan, for it would clearly diminish his prestige to have another crowned head in such close proximity. He, therefore, in all haste dispatched a messenger to Caligula with letters in which were contained insinuations against the loyalty of Antipas. There appears to have been a germ of truth, but no more than this, in the accusations which Agrippa brought against Antipas; but this was sufficient to condemn the latter in the eyes of Caligula. He was banished to Gaul. When the emperor heard that Herodias was the sister of his friend Agrippa, he permitted her to retain whatever wealth she possessed, adding that it was only because she was Agrippa's sister that she was spared suffering banishment like her husband. But Herodias spurned the offer, and followed Antipas into exile. His tetrarchy, as well as all the money he possessed, was given to Agrippa. This happened in the latter part of the year A.D. 39.¹

The country over which Agrippa ruled, therefore, included all the land north of Samaria as far as Mount Libanus and the north-eastern districts on the farther side of the Jordan.

In the latter part of the year A.D. 40 Agrippa was once more in Rome; and, while there, he was made acquainted with untoward events in Palestine. Josephus, in writing about Caligula, says that he regarded himself as a god;² Suetonius records the same thing;³ it followed that as a god he required that worship should be offered to him. An instance of this is mentioned by Philo,⁴ who says that in Jamnia, which at this time was predominantly inhabited by Jews, the Gentiles set up an altar to the emperor, which the Jews there promptly pulled down. This was reported to Caligula by the imperial procurator of the city, Herennius Capito; as a counter-stroke, Caligula commanded that a statue of himself was to be set up in the Temple at Jerusalem; and for this purpose he appointed Petronius legate of Syria,⁵ bidding him take two legions⁶ in order to enforce the

¹ *Antiq.* xviii. 240 ff.; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 181 ff.; for the date see Schürer, *op. cit.* i. 448 f.

² *Antiq.* xviii. 256.

³ *Calig.* lii.

⁴ *Legat. ad Gai.*, § 30.

⁵ His predecessor, Vitellius, had shown much consideration for the Jews; presumably therefore the emperor did not consider him to be the right kind of person to carry out this command.

⁶ This was half the entire Roman force in Syria, for, as Tacitus records: 'In

command; he therefore fully realized the serious consequences which this foolish whim might entail. Petronius was thus placed in the most unenviable position of having to choose between setting the country in a blaze, or suffering the death penalty if he disobeyed the emperor's order. For the present he wisely took a middle course and procrastinated. As soon as the design became known among the Jews they streamed in crowds to Ptolemaïs, where Petronius was, begging him to desist from bringing the abhorred image to Jerusalem, making it at the same time clear, however, what the result would be if he persisted. It was in vain that Petronius protested that he was not his own master, but had to obey the emperor's commands; the Jews openly declared that they would resist. In view of this impasse a final effort was made by some of the leaders, who begged Petronius, before taking any further step, to acquaint the emperor with the serious state of affairs. This Petronius did, telling Caligula that, short of exterminating the Jewish population, it was not possible to set up this image in the Temple. Now it happened that at the time of the arrival of this letter, Agrippa, who had been made aware of what was happening in Syria, was giving a feast to Caligula; and having got the emperor into a good humour he made the petition that the statue might not be set up in the Jewish Temple. Caligula granted the request, and forthwith sent word to Petronius that if the statue had already been placed in the Temple it was to remain; but if this had not yet been done, then he was not to trouble further about the matter. Thereupon, unfortunately, Petronius' letter to the emperor was delivered to him; the emperor, believing that Petronius had been bribed by the Jews to send it, commanded him to commit suicide. Before the letter containing this order arrived, however, news came of the murder of Caligula;¹ this took place in A.D. 41. Thus the life of Petronius was saved, and, for the present at least, a Jewish war was avoided.

3. AGRIPPA KING OF JUDAEA

The violent death of Caligula at the hands of the Praetorian guards might well have had tragic consequences for Agrippa, that vast extent of country which stretches from Syria to the Euphrates . . . four legions maintained the rights of the empire' (*Annal.* iv. 5).

¹ *Antiq.* xviii. 261 ff.; Philo's account (*Legat. ad Gai.*, §§ 35-43) varies from that of Josephus in some particulars.

his favourite. But with characteristic astuteness Agrippa managed to ingratiate himself with the new ruler. He was still in Rome when Caligula was murdered, and it was largely due to his encouragement that Claudius was induced to accept the throne;¹ when once, therefore, the new emperor firmly grasped the sceptre, he was not slow to show his gratitude to Agrippa. He not only confirmed Agrippa in the kingdom which had been granted to him by Caligula, but added to it both Judaea and Samaria; so that Agrippa now ruled over all the territories which had belonged to his grandfather, Herod the Great.²

On his return to Jerusalem his first act was one well calculated to impress his new subjects favourably, above all, the Pharisees, whose influence, as Agrippa well knew, was predominant. He offered all the sacrifices incumbent upon him, omitting nothing that the Law required; he also hung up in the Temple over the treasury the golden chain which Caligula had given him on his release from prison.³ The sequel shows, moreover, that this was to be an indication of the new king's constant attitude; for in a subsequent passage Josephus says of him that it was his wont to live among his people in Jerusalem, and that he was very careful in the observance of the laws of his country, that he kept himself pure, and that never a day passed without his offering the appointed sacrifice.⁴ His general attitude, as well as his good-humoured generosity, is illustrated by Josephus in various ways.⁵ It may also be pointed out that, in his wish to conciliate his own people, Agrippa persecuted some of the first Christians, as recorded in Acts xii. 1-19.⁶

But within his domains Agrippa had a large Gentile population who had also to be conciliated. Following the example of his grandfather, he erected beautiful buildings; thus, in Berytus he built a theatre and an amphitheatre, baths and porticoes; but he showed a very un-Jewish spirit in organizing there a gladiatorial show in which fourteen hundred criminals fought one another, every one of whom was killed.⁷ Similarly, in Caesarea he exhibited shows in honour of the emperor, and appeared in the theatre himself, gorgeously apparelled;⁸ in his palace there he had statues of his daughters;⁹ this, for a Jew,

¹ *Antiq.* xix. 236.

² *Ibid.*, 274.

³ *Ibid.*, 294.

⁵ See *Ibid.*, 299, 328, 333 f.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 331.

⁷ *Antiq.* xix 337.

⁶ See, further, Schlatter, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 357.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 344.

was quite unlawful. Finally, it is characteristic of this king that on his coins stamped in Jerusalem no effigy appears, while those of other cities have either the picture of himself or of the emperor.¹

Agrippa reigned only very few years; the account of his death in A.D. 44, given by Josephus,² should be read in connexion with Acts xii. 21-3.

With the death of Agrippa a new era begins for the Jews. Before we come to deal with this it will be well to take a glance at the condition of the Jews, during the period under consideration, in the more important centres of the Dispersion.

¹ Schürer, *op. cit.* i. 560 f.; Willrich, *Das Haus des Herodes*, p. 154.

² *Antiq.* xix. 344 ff.

Chapter XXVI

THE JEWS OF THE DISPERSION DURING THE ROMAN PERIOD

SUMMARY

[The three most important centres of the Jewish Dispersion during the Roman period were Alexandria, Rome, and Babylonia and the East; there were also a large number of Jewish settlements in Asia Minor, and elsewhere.

From the time of the first contact between the Jews and Romans a friendly relationship had been established, a relationship which was cemented by the Jewish support of Caesar when he found himself in a difficult position in Egypt. But this friendship had the unfortunate effect of embittering the Alexandrians against the Jewish inhabitants of the city. The persistent hatred of the Jews felt by the Gentile elements in Alexandria, a hatred which showed itself by not infrequent violence and bloodshed, arose to a large extent through the favourable treatment accorded to the Jews by Rome. At the same time, it must be recognized that the Jews did a good deal to inflame feelings against themselves. Political, religious, racial, economic, and social causes all contributed to make the Jews disliked in Alexandria.

During the reigns of the earliest emperors this antipathy did not assume other than a passive form. The first outbreak of violence occurred in the reign of Caligula in connexion with the presence of Herod Agrippa in Alexandria on his way to Palestine. The Jews suffered severely on this occasion, but were avenged soon after through Agrippa's friendship with Caligula. Flaccus, the governor of Alexandria, who had shown great animus against the Jews, was recalled, and condemned to death. Later the Jews themselves took revenge by attacking the Greeks.

Under Claudius the ancient rights and privileges of the Jews were confirmed; this was an outcome of Agrippa's friendship with Claudius. For some time now there was peace, in general, among the Jews and Greeks, though intermittent strife broke out at times.

A very serious encounter occurred, however, during the reign of Nero, in A.D. 66; this resulted in such a terrible massacre of the Jews that for a generation nothing is recorded of any further encounter between them and the Gentiles.

A few details regarding the organization of the Jewish community in Alexandria have come down to us. They had their special quarter in the city, but were not confined to it; synagogues existed in various parts of the city; an inscription belonging to one of these throws a

curious light on the type of Judaism among some, at any rate, of the Alexandrian Jews. Again, they formed an autonomous civil, as well as religious, community. At their head was a Gerousiarch who presided over the council of elders. They enjoyed the same civil rights as other citizens.

Next in importance was the Roman community of Jews. There is no direct evidence regarding the earliest settlement of the Jews in Rome. The first certain reference belongs to the time of Pompey, though it is exceedingly probable that many Jews were settled there long before this time. Not until the reign of Tiberius do we hear of any overt action being taken against the Jews of Rome; this emperor issued an edict of banishment against them; they were, however, evidently soon permitted to return.

While we have, thus, but few details of a concrete character regarding the Jews in Rome, it is, nevertheless, possible to gain a fairly clear picture of their general conditions of life there from scattered references in ancient writings. The Romans, like the Alexandrians, disliked the Jews, and for much the same reasons. In particular, Jewish beggars, on the one hand, and rich Jews with disagreeable propensities, on the other, called forth annoyance, contempt, and ridicule.

Further, some interesting knowledge of their communal organization can be gathered from Jewish inscriptions in ancient cemeteries and in the catacombs. From these it is learned, for example, that the Jews in Rome had a number of independently organized communities, each with its own synagogue, and each under a separate *Gerousia*.

Lastly, there is Babylonia and the East. The Jews of the Eastern Dispersion were scattered over a very wide area. The most important settlements were in Nehardea and Nisibis, both cities situated on the Euphrates. The main characteristic recorded of the Jews of the East was their rigid adherence to the Law. In general, their lives were probably spent peacefully; but at times restless spirits made trouble. On the other hand, one such, the leader named Zamaris, who lived in the time of Herod the Great, appears to have set an admirable example as a petty ruler.

But in the Eastern Dispersion, too, the Jews aroused the dislike of their Gentile neighbours, and we read of severe persecutions in Nehardea, which were repeated when the Jews fled to Seleucia, west of the Tigris. A curious episode is recorded of a converted Jew becoming a vassal-king in Parthia. In later days Babylonia became a very important centre of Judaism.

The Jewish settlements in Asia Minor were very numerous; some of the Jews here differed from the great bulk of the Jews of the Dispersion in that they adopted Graeco-Oriental cults; but apart

from these, whatever the Jews took over from the Greeks was in form only, not in essence.]

LONG before the Roman period Jews were scattered in every part of the world then known;¹ but in most cases (Alexandria is an exception) very little that is of importance for the history of these communities has been recorded so far as our present period is concerned. By far the most important centres of the Jewish Dispersion during the period under consideration were Alexandria, Rome, and Babylonia, better described perhaps as the Eastern Dispersion, for the Jewish communities in the East were scattered over a wide area. Some few notices about the Jews in Asia Minor will also be referred to. In the case of each of these something, though not a great deal, has been recorded.

I. ALEXANDRIA²

The Jewish Dispersion in Egypt, as we have already seen,³ dates back for centuries; but we are here concerned only with the Jews of Alexandria during Roman times. The first direct contact between Alexandrian Jews and Romans has likewise already been briefly indicated.⁴ This was in 55 B.C. when, at the instance of Antipater, the father of Herod the Great, the Jewish garrison in Pelusium refrained from interfering with the Roman army under Gabinius; Antipater, moreover, supplied the Roman army with provisions.⁵ Later, in 47 B.C., Antipater came to the assistance of Caesar when the latter found himself in a somewhat critical position in Alexandria. At that time, too, the Jews of Heliopolis, being urged by Hyrcanus II, the Jerusalem High-priest, supported Antipater in the pro-Roman policy, and their example was followed by the Jews of Memphis.⁶

Indeed, from the Maccabaeon period onwards cordial relations had existed between Rome and the Jews, and this had

¹ Cp. *Sib. Orac.* iii. 271, 272: 'Every sea and every land is full of thee, and every one hateth thee, because of thy ways'; Strabo gives similar testimony (*Antiq.* xiv. 115).

² See Heinemann's important article, 'Antisemitismus', in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.*, Supplement Band V, pp. 3-43 (1931).

³ See above, p. 40 f.

⁴ See above, p. 335 f. Their relations during the Maccabaeon era took place before the Roman period, in the full sense, began.

⁵ *Antiq.* xiv. 99; *Bell. Jud.* i. 175, 176.

⁶ *Antiq.* xiv. 127 ff.; *Bell. Jud.* i. 187 ff.

ALEXANDRIA

Mareotis Lacus Birket el Mariout

SCALE OF STATUTE MILES

0 1/2 1 1 1/2 1 3/4

ALEXANDRIA

Mareotis Lacus Birket el Mariout

0 1/2 1 1 1/2 1 3/4

ALEXANDRIA

SCALE OF STATUTE MILES

2	1/2	40	1	1/2	17
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*Marcot's Lancus
Birket el Mariout*

now become traditional. These amicable relations were further cemented when Augustus confirmed the privileges and rights enjoyed hitherto by the Jews of Alexandria. That these privileges had originally been conferred by Alexander the Great, as Josephus states, is very doubtful.¹

But the friendly relations existing between Rome and the Jews of Alexandria had the effect of embittering the non-Jewish population of the city against the Jews in their midst. This we can readily understand. Rome was the conqueror, and therefore, naturally enough, not beloved by the conquered people; to have the friends of the conqueror as close neighbours could only result in hatred of them. This was, however, but an aggravation of the anti-Jewish feeling which dated from earlier times. One of the main causes of this had been that while the Jewish corporations, like others, managed their own internal and religious affairs, in one respect they were privileged beyond any other; in the words of Tarn: 'they ultimately acquired (at Alexandria not until after the third century) the right of being judged by their own magistrates according to their own law, which *probably* means that they were exempted from the jurisdiction of the Greek courts; perhaps this, rather than religious exclusiveness, was the origin of the discontent Greeks began to feel later.'² This seems highly probable; so that when the Romans became rulers they found an anti-Jewish feeling already in existence, and this was increased by their friendliness to the Jews. To these causes of hatred for the Jews—a hatred which expressed itself time and again in brutal violence—must be added some others. It cannot fail to be recognized that there were some things characteristic of the Jews which were calculated to arouse antagonism. Prominent among these were the Jewish religion and religious practices; there can be no doubt

¹ See Reinach, *Textes . . .*, p. 86; *Antiq.* xix. 281 ff.; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 487; cp. *Contra Ap.* ii. 45. According to Josephus (*Bell. Jud.* ii. 489 ff.), Alexander the Great had found the Jews of Alexandria ready to assist him against the Egyptians, and had rewarded them by granting them privileges for their loyalty. If this had been the case one could understand the antipathy which the Egyptians must have felt for the Jews already at that early period. But Josephus' statement is very questionable. Dr. Edwyn Bevan points out (in a private communication) that we never hear of any conflict between Alexander and the Egyptians; it was the *Persians* in Egypt against whom Alexander warred, and he seems to have taken a strong pro-Egyptian line. Moreover, there can hardly have been any large body of Jews at Alexandria when Alexander left Egypt a few months after the walls of Alexandria had first been marked out.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 191.

that these aroused dislike;¹ the peculiarities, as they would be regarded by others, of the Jewish faith in its outward observances, the exclusiveness of the Jews, their intolerance, and above all, their assumption of superiority as regards religion, justified as it was, could not fail to embitter those of other faiths.² Associated with their religion, pride of race contributed further to make the Jews disliked by those among whom they lived. It must also be conceded that, speaking generally, the attitude and behaviour of the Jews towards the Gentiles was neither tactful nor conciliatory.

Another cause of antagonism, and one which is quite comprehensible, was envy against the Jews on account of the wealth possessed by some, together with their industry and ability, which have always been distinguished features of the race. And, lastly, a special cause of hatred was that the Jews took no part in the State worship; and that the ruling power granted them exemption from this only increased the bitterness of their fellow citizens against them. So that the causes, so far as they can be traced, of the deeply rooted hatred of the Jews, were political, religious, racial, economic, and social.³

Thus it will be readily understood why from the very beginning of the Roman period a traditional antipathy against the Jews had been handed down in this, the most important centre, of the Dispersion. There is no record of this antipathy assuming other than a passive form during the reigns of the earliest emperors, but of its existence the sequel was soon to give ample proof. The first occasion, during the Roman period,⁴ on which an active collision occurred was in the time of Caligula. It will be remembered that when Herod Agrippa had received lands and the royal title from the emperor, he continued to live a considerable time in Rome before going to take up his duties in his kingdom.⁵ But in the spring of the year A.D. 38 he set out for Palestine via Alexandria. Knowing the feeling that existed there between Greeks and Jews, he was averse from

¹ *Sib. Orac.* iii. 272: 'Every man shall hold thine ordinances in hatred'; cp. *Esther* iii. 8.

² Cp. Reinach, *Textes . . .*, Préface, pp. xi ff.

³ Cp. Fuchs, *Die Juden Ägyptens in ptolemäischer und römischer Zeit*, pp. 20, 72 (1924).

⁴ The first overt act of violence against the Jews took place, however, during the later part of the reign of Ptolemy VIII Lathyrus (the second period of his reign was from 88 to 80 B.C., see Additional Note N); for references see Heine-mann's art., p. 2 in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encycl.*, mentioned above.

⁵ See above, p. 395.

entering the city in state. Unfortunately, however, the Jews insisted on his making an entry in accordance with his royal status. As a result, the Greek population was greatly annoyed at the ostentatious display of one who had on a former occasion come as a beggar to their city.¹ They expressed their annoyance by making fun of Agrippa in a very insulting manner; a poor harmless buffoon, well known by sight in the city, was dressed up as Agrippa, and mock honour was paid to him, the prank ending in a great gathering in the gymnasium where further riotous play was indulged in, Agrippa being the butt of their coarse wit. Philo, who recounts this episode, does not say whether the Jews retaliated; it is difficult to believe that they did not; but the Greeks themselves who had perpetrated the folly began to fear lest what they had done should entail disagreeable consequences to themselves; for they had, when all was said and done, insulted a royal personage; and, what was far more serious in their eyes, they recalled the fact that Agrippa was a great personal friend of the emperor's. Something had to be done to protect themselves from reprisals. What they did was this: all the world knew that Caligula had proclaimed himself a god and demanded divine worship from his subjects;² so they went in a body to a place of assembly and filled the air with shouts that the statue of the emperor should be set up in the synagogues.³ This, of course, as being against their Law, the Jews resolutely refused to permit. Flaccus, the governor, thereupon issued an edict against the Jews in which he described them as 'foreigners and interlopers'.⁴ The Greeks seized upon this edict as a pretext for attacking the Jews, and very soon the city was in a state of riot and anarchy. The Jews were all driven into the quarter of the city known as 'Delta';⁵ their houses and shops were plundered and the contents divided among the mob in the public market-place; every Jew who appeared in the streets was hewn down; men, women, and children were ruthlessly slaughtered or burned on bonfires lit for the purpose. In

¹ Philo, *In Flacc.* § 5.

² Philo, *In Flacc.* § 6.

³ *Antiq.* xviii. 256, 258.

⁴ ξένου καὶ ἐπιρροῦς (*In Flacc.* § 8).

⁵ The five quarters into which the city was divided were designated by the first five letters of the alphabet; 'Beta' and 'Delta' were the two inhabited by the Jews, in the main, but not wholly; for they were not restricted to these quarters; numbers of Jews lived in all quarters of the city, and synagogues were to be found in different parts (*Bell. Jud.* ii. 495; *In Flacc.* § 8; *Leg. ad Gaium*, § 20; on the synagogues see further below).

the synagogues, which were not burned or destroyed, statues of the emperor were set up. Flaccus, so far from doing anything to quell the rioting, added the further cruelty of having thirty-eight venerable members of the Jewish *Gerousia* dragged through the city in chains and publicly whipped in the theatre. Finally, numbers of Jewish women were brought into the theatre and made to eat swine's flesh before the mob; if they complied they were allowed to go free, if not they were cruelly tortured. The 'pogrom' then gradually subsided, leaving the Jews in the pitiable state of having lost their homes and property, and being practically starving; they were then huddled together in a small and dirty quarter of the city.¹

What Agrippa was doing all this time, and where he was, does not appear; but, soon after, he made his presence felt, and was the means of affording the Jews revenge. Some time previous to this, and before the persecution of the Jews had taken place, Flaccus had promised to forward to the emperor an address of loyalty from them; he deliberately broke his promise, presumably with the object of making the Jews appear disloyal. Though in duty bound to see that what was intended for the emperor was duly delivered, he stood in the way of this. This dereliction of duty on Flaccus' part now came to the ears of Agrippa. He had a second copy of the address made which he sent to the emperor, together with an accusation against Flaccus. As a result, Flaccus was recalled and condemned to death.² But the experience through which the Jews had passed made it necessary for them to take measures of safety for the future. They first obtained permission to send an embassy to the emperor.³ The Alexandrians, however, were not behindhand in this; they also sent an embassy. The emperor received both parties; but what the final result was is not recorded; what is clear is that it did not turn out favourably for the Jews;⁴ they evidently gained nothing. But, in the meantime, rioting had again broken out in Alexandria, though this time it was the

¹ It must, however, be noted that this persecution was not a religious one; nothing against the Jewish religion, as such, is mentioned; it was directed against the rights and privileges which they enjoyed, against their growing power, and against their increasing numbers. At the same time, bitterness against the Jews as the friends of Rome, by whom they had, moreover, been confirmed in their privileges, will also have had a good deal to do with this outbreak against them.

² *In Flacc.* §§ 13 ff.

³ *Leg. ad Gaium*, § xlvi. Claudius was now emperor; the Jewish embassy was headed by Philo.

⁴ *Antiq.* xviii. 259, 260.

Jews who took the initiative. This is referred to by Josephus, who says that after Caligula was dead the Jews, by way of revenge for the way in which they had been treated by the Greeks, 'took up arms to fight for themselves'.¹ An interesting detail regarding this event has within recent years come to light, owing to the discovery of a papyrus containing Claudius' epistle to the Alexandrians;² in this letter, among other things, the emperor commands the Jews 'not to introduce or invite Jews who sail down to Alexandria from Syria or Egypt, thus compelling me to conceive the greater suspicion; otherwise I will by all means take vengeance on them as fomenting a general plague for the whole world'. This shows that the Jews of Alexandria had obtained reinforcements from among their brethren in other parts, and had brought them into the city preparatory to an attack on the Greek citizens. Incidentally also, it illustrates the sympathetic unity of the Jewish race which has always been characteristic of them. This warning, however, in no way detracts from the favour accorded to the Jews which appears in another part of the letter, where Claudius charges the Alexandrians to 'offer no outrage to them (i.e. the Jews) in the exercise of their traditional worship, but to permit them to observe their customs as in the time of Divus Augustus, which customs I also, after hearing both sides, have confirmed.'³ In one of the two edicts of Claudius, quoted by Josephus, it is said: 'I will, therefore, that the nation of the Jews be not deprived of their rights and privileges . . . but that those rights and privileges, which they formerly enjoyed, be preserved to them, and that they may continue in their own customs.'⁴ In the other edict these rights and privileges are accorded to all Jews throughout the Roman empire. That these rights and privileges did not include those of citizenship we have already seen, and the letter of Claudius bears this out. One most important point for the Jews resulted from this; their synagogues were not desecrated by statues of the emperor, which had been the initial cause of the trouble.⁵ Another noteworthy fact is that this favourable attitude on the part of the emperor was due to his

¹ *Antiq.* xix. 278.

² Published by H. I. Bell in *Jews and Christians in Egypt*, pp. 23-6; translation and notes on pp. 27-37 (1924); it belongs to the year A.D. 41.

³ Bell, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

⁴ *Antiq.* xix. 285.

⁵ In his edict Claudius implicitly repudiates the idea of being a god (*ibid.*, 284).

friendship for Agrippa; in one of the edicts he expressly says that his concessions had been granted at the request of Agrippa who is 'very dear to me'.¹

In the letter of Claudius there is one other matter of considerable interest regarding the Alexandrian Jews. In sections 9-12 (Bell's divisions) Claudius addresses himself to the Greeks, but in section 14 he addresses the Jews, and says: 'I bid the Jews not to busy themselves about anything beyond what they have held hitherto, and not henceforth, as if you and they lived in two cities, to send two embassies—a thing such as never occurred before now . . .'. As it is the Jews who are being addressed, the 'two embassies' must refer to them;² it points to a quarrel among the Jews themselves, to that internal strife of parties which seems to have been so ingrained among the Jews; Bell suggests, with much probability, that it may have been difference of opinion between the orthodox and Hellenistically minded Jews; if this is so it throws further light on the conditions of the Jewish community in Alexandria.³

From a fragmentary papyrus⁴ we learn of a later collision between the Jews and Greeks of Alexandria, in A.D. 53; the matter, of which the details are wanting, was brought before Claudius—the warning of his epistle had therefore been unheeded—and it appears that the Greeks had some complaint to make against Agrippa; it was an unwise thing to do when the friendship of Claudius for Agrippa was so well known; and the representatives of the Greeks suffered death for their temerity. The episode concerns us only so far as showing the continued hostility between Greeks and Jews in Alexandria.

For the next twelve years or so no further record of any untoward events in Alexandria has come down to us. But the growing unrest in Palestine was not likely to be without its repercussions in other Jewish centres. The feeling against Rome in Palestine reached its climax⁵ in A.D. 66 with the outbreak of

¹ Ibid., 288.

² So Bell, in *Juden und Griechen im römischen Alexandria*, p. 26 f. (1924), following Willrich, in *Hermes*, xx. 482-8 (1925), Otto, in 'Phil. Woch.', xlv. 6-14 (1926).

³ There is also another possibility; the reference to Apollos of Alexandria, who only knew of the baptism of John, and who spoke boldly in the synagogue at Ephesus (Acts xviii. 24-6), might conceivably suggest that there were in Alexandria Jewish Christians who only knew of the baptism of John, and who would therefore not be thought of so much as Christians as of a peculiar type of Jew; and the dissension referred to might have been among them and the orthodox Jews.

⁴ Bell, *Juden und Griechen* . . ., pp. 27-30.

⁵ See below, pp. 441 ff.

the Jewish war; and it is in this year that we hear of another of those periodical racial encounters in Alexandria. Intermittent strife, Josephus tells us, had been the rule during the preceding years, but on this occasion the matter became more serious. A public assembly was being held by the Greeks in order to discuss the subject of an embassy to the emperor (Nero).¹ During the deliberations a number of Jews gained admittance; as soon as this was noticed a cry of 'Spies' was raised, and a rush was made for the Jews; they all managed to escape with the exception of three, whom the Greeks determined to burn alive. But the Jews as a body heard of their intention, and invaded the theatre in order to rescue their brethren, threatening to burn the place down with every one in it. They were, however, restrained by the wise and temperate action of the governor of the city, himself a renegade Jew, Tiberius Alexander. He despatched to them some leading and trusted men of the city who pointed out to them the folly, just at this critical time of their history, of bringing the Roman soldiers against them for breaking the peace. Although the wiser heads were impressed by this, the majority turned a deaf ear to their well-wishers; this can hardly be wondered at seeing that Tiberius Alexander had renounced Judaism for paganism; the uproar continued, and matters became so serious that the Roman troops had to be called out. The Jews were driven again into the 'Delta' quarter, where they fought desperately; ultimately they were overcome with terrible slaughter, and numbers of their houses were burned down.² The effect of this was lasting; for more than a generation we hear of no more restlessness on the part of the Alexandrian Jews.

This brief glance at the history of the Jews in the main Egyptian centre of the Dispersion must suffice. The Jews of Alexandria were again in evidence in somewhat later times; this will be referred to in due course.³

Regarding the organization of the Jewish community at

¹ Josephus does not say what the object of the meeting was, nor yet that of the proposed embassy to Nero; but Bell suggests the possibility (a very likely one as it seems to us) that the matter in hand was an expression of loyalty to the emperor in view of the outbreak of the Jewish war in Jerusalem; this would explain the treatment of the Jews on their being discovered in the assembly (*Juden und Griechen* . . ., p. 31).

² Bell. *Jud.* ii. 487 ff.; Josephus' statement that 50,000 Jews were slain is doubtless an exaggeration.

³ See below, p. 457 f.

Alexandria some scattered details have been preserved by Philo and Josephus. They had their special quarter, though this must not be understood as implying that their segregation corresponded in any way to what is meant by a Ghetto; the motive for the special quarter was one of consideration for the Jews; Josephus speaks of it as a privilege, because thereby they might live without being 'polluted' by the Gentiles.¹ It was situated to the east of the harbour, and ran along the coast, extending, of course, inland too; it was, according to Josephus, in the best part of the city.² This was, presumably, the 'Delta' quarter; whether the 'Beta' quarter, also occupied by the Jews, was contiguous to this or not, we do not know. This isolation from the Gentile elements enabled the Jews in normal times to observe their religious customs without let or hindrance. They had synagogues, however, as we have seen, not only in their own quarter but in other parts of the city too;³ this, we may take it, was not originally the case, but was necessitated in course of time owing to the increase of the Jewish population.⁴ Philo speaks of the large number of synagogues and calls them 'houses of prayer'.⁵ One of these, which must have been of great size, the memory and details of which are preserved in Rabbinical literature, had in it a double row of pillars; concerning it an early Rabbi⁶ said: 'Whoever has not seen the double row of pillars in Alexandria has never in his life seen the glory achieved by Israel.' It was, properly speaking, a basilica, not a synagogue in the strict sense, though used as such. It was destroyed by Trajan. Inscriptions in reference to synagogues in Alexandria are scanty in the extreme; Krauss⁷ gives three, all, of course, in Greek, but very fragmentary; the only one of which anything can be made belongs to the year 37 B.C., and runs: 'For the queen and the king, the two great gods who give ear, Alypos built this house of prayer'; this synagogue was built in honour of Cleopatra and her younger brother Ptolemy XV, according to Krauss; the inscription gives a significant insight into the type of Judaism of the Alexandrian Jew. Philo mentions two feasts, unknown

¹ *Bell. Jud.* ii. 488.

² *Contra Ap.* ii. 34. Their position, close to the harbour, was an inducement for them to take to commerce.

³ Philo, *Leg. ad Gaium*, xx.

⁴ According to Philo (*In Flacc.* § 6) the Jewish population of Alexandria reached a million.

⁵ *προσευχαί*.

⁶ Rabbi Jehudah, in the Tosephta to tractate *Sukkah*, iv. 6.

⁷ *Synagogale Altertümer*, pp. 261 ff. (1922).

elsewhere, and from their nature probably confined to Alexandria, viz. one in commemoration of the translation of the Old Testament into Greek, and another in memory of a miraculous deliverance from elephants.¹

The Jews of Alexandria formed not only a religious but also an autonomous civil community,² at the head of which stood the ethnarch.³ Augustus, according to Philo,⁴ replaced the alabarch⁵ by a *Gerousia*, or council of elders, presided over by a gerousiarch;⁶ but in the edict of Claudius a new alabarch (or ethnarch) is appointed by the emperor, so that in all probability the gerousiarch was merely another term for the older one, alabarch. That the Alexandrian Jews enjoyed the same civil rights as the other citizens is certain;⁷ Flaccus called them 'foreigners and interlopers' (see above); but that was mere rancour, and Claudius soon after confirmed them in all their ancient rights.⁸ Some details regarding the Jews of Alexandria after the fall of Jerusalem will be found in chap. xxix, § 3.

2. ROME

The indications in various passages in *1 Maccabees*,⁹ showing cordial relationships between the Jews of Palestine and the Roman power, offer nothing which might suggest the existence of a Jewish community in Rome. On the other hand, the

¹ *De Vita Mosis*, lib. ii, § 7.

² ὡς ἂν πολιτείας ἄρχων αὐτοτελοῦς.

³ Strabo, quoted in *Antiq.* xiv. 117; Philo speaks of him as γέναρχος (*In Flacc.* § 10). Josephus (*Antiq.* xviii. 159 and elsewhere) mentions an official called alabarch, the meaning of which is uncertain; the word is possibly connected with the Greek *alaba*, 'ink', 'in the sense of writing (*scriptura*), which in those days was a token for tax (*vectigal*)'; so Krauss (*Jewish Encycl.* i. 315b). Josephus describes the ethnarch as one 'who governs the nation and distributes justice to them, and takes care of their contracts and of the laws which belong to them, as if he were ruler of a free republic' (*Antiq.* xiv. 117); but he does not indicate what the particular duties of the alabarch were, nor does Philo. The title had nothing specially to do with the Jews; a Jew might be an alabarch, as in the case of Alexander, the brother of Philo, but so might a pagan. Dr. Edwyn Bevan (in a private communication) says that perhaps the name was attached to some official in the public service which had to do with the customs, though the question is still involved in a good deal of obscurity. One complication is that the manuscripts often show *arabarches* for *alabarches*, and it is uncertain whether these were two different titles or only two different ways of writing the same title; see, further, Schürer, *op. cit.* iii. 132 ff.

⁵ Ethnarch in *Antiq.* xix. 283.

⁴ *In Flacc.* § 10.

⁶ See Schürer, *op. cit.* iii. 84 f.

⁷ See Philo, *In Flacc.* § 10; Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* ii. 487; *Contra Ap.* ii. 35.

⁸ See, moreover, *Antiq.* xii. 119.

⁹ *1 Macc.* viii. 17-32; xii. 1-4, 16; xiv. 24; xv. 15-24; cp. *Antiq.* xii. 414, xiii 163 ff.

quotation given above from the Sibylline Oracles¹ of the ubiquity of the Jews would lead us to assume that some of them must have been resident in such an important centre as Rome at the beginning of the second century B.C.; but there is no direct evidence for this. The first certain knowledge that we have refers to the time immediately preceding the taking of Jerusalem by Pompey (63 B.C.); for Cicero, who was consul in this year, in his defence of Flaccus, speaks of the senate having forbidden the Jews of both Asia and Italy to send contributions in gold to Jerusalem; he says that this was the case not only in his time, but also previously.² It is obvious that the mention of Italy would mean primarily Rome. Graetz says there can be no doubt that before Pompey was occupied with Jewish affairs there were Jews domiciled in Rome and other Italian cities; they had probably come from Egypt and Asia for trading purposes and had settled down in these cities.³

That there were many Jews settled in Rome at the time of Caesar's death is clear from what is recorded about their mourning for him.⁴ In the time of Augustus, and before, as Philo records, there was a considerable colony of Jews settled on the other side of the Tiber;⁵ most of them, he says, were freedmen who had originally been brought to Rome as captives; he also mentions the existence of synagogues in which they were wont to gather; this points to their having been there for a considerable time.⁶ As household slaves the Jews were soon found to be very unsatisfactory on account of their rigid adherence to their dietary laws and other observances; nothing would induce them to eat the ordinary food provided in Gentile houses; there were all kinds of things that they refused to handle for fear of ritual pollution; and not a stroke of work would they do on the Sabbath. The consequence was that the price of liberty was small, and very many soon became freedmen. It was,

¹ Bk. iii. 271, 272, from which the quotation comes, belongs to the early years of the Maccabæan rising.

² *Pro Flacco*, § 28. Dr. Edwyn Bevan (in a private communication) draws attention to the important fact that Cicero represents it as necessary to lower his voice when he talks about the Jews because they had mustered in such numbers to demonstrate on the outskirts of the court. If Roman Jews at this date were numerous enough and powerful enough to intimidate a Roman orator, it is a fact of considerable significance.

³ *Geschichte der Juden*, iii. 142 (1863).

⁴ Suetonius, *Caesar*, § 84, and see above, p. 340.

⁵ This was the 'slum' quarter of Rome, called 'Trastevere'.

⁶ *Leg. ad Gaium*, § 23.

furthermore, soon realized that, on account of their ability in various directions, they were far more useful members of society when free to follow their own bent than when kept as slaves.¹ The evidence of Josephus supports this, for he tells us that when a Jewish embassy came to Rome, after the death of Herod the Great, consisting of fifty elders, they were joined there by eight thousand Jews;² clearly these must have been freedmen. Strabo, quoted by Josephus,³ speaking of the Jews, says that 'they have come into every city, and one cannot easily discover a place in the world which has not received this race, and which has not been taken hold of (ἐπικρατεῖται) by it'.⁴

The first time that anything in the nature of a persecution of the Jews took place was in the reign of Tiberius. This was owing to the action of an impostor, a renegade Jew, who had been driven out of his own country for some crime, and had come to Rome posing as a teacher of wisdom; he, with the help of three other rogues, persuaded a noble lady, named Fulvia, a convert to Judaism, to make a gift of gold and purple to the Temple at Jerusalem; but having got hold of these gifts the four thieves kept them. When this came to the ears of Tiberius he ordered all Jews to be banished from Rome.⁵ According to Philo,⁶ the banishment was really due to Sejanus, a high Roman official;⁷ on his death, Tiberius ordered that all the Jews, where-soever residing, were to be permitted full enjoyment of religious freedom; though he does not say anything about allowing the Jews to return to Rome, he evidently intended that this should be so, as, not very long after, a Jewish community is implicitly stated to have been in Rome again; for Claudius, at the beginning of his reign, put forth an edict confirming all the rights and privileges of the Jews throughout the empire,⁸ 'and this grant I make', he says, 'not only for the sake of the petitioners, but as judging those Jews for whom I have been petitioned worthy of such a favour, on account of their fidelity and friendship to the Romans'.⁹ Later on in the reign of Claudius the Jews were again banished from Rome, according to Acts xviii. 2; this is also mentioned by Suetonius.¹⁰ Berliner believes that this

¹ Cicero, *Pro Flacco*, § 28.

² *Antiq.* xvii. 300 f.; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 80 ff.

³ *Antiq.* xiv. 115.

⁴ Cp. also *Bell. Jud.* ii. 398; Philo, *In Flacc.* § 7; Acts ii. 9.

⁶ *Leg. ad Gaium*, § 24.

⁵ *Antiq.* xviii. 83, 84.

⁷ It took place in A.D. 19; cp. Tacitus, *Annal.* ii. 85.

⁹ *Antiq.* xix. 289.

⁸ See above, p. 398, ref. in footnote.

¹⁰ *Claud.* § 25: *Judaeos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes urbe expulit.*

was the consequence of internal quarrels among the Jews which resulted in rioting, the cause of strife being some question about their religious belief.¹ Schürer, however, thinks that the preaching of Christ among the Jews had given rise to rioting;² this seems the more probable.

After being driven out of the city, they remained in the neighbourhood, and soon after found their way back again. Dio Cassius, quoted by Schürer, sums up the history of the Jewish community in Rome in the words: 'Though often suppressed, they nevertheless increased greatly, so that it was they themselves who achieved the boon of being able to observe their customs without hindrance.'³

It will be seen that very little is recorded regarding the history of the Jewish community in Rome; there is sufficient evidence to make it certain that a large number of Jews was domiciled there;⁴ and the very fact of the frequent mention of friendly relations between Rome and the Jews makes it highly probable that, upon the whole, life in Rome was tolerable for them. But of real history we have exceedingly little. On the other hand, through indirect reference, casual mention, and incidental remarks, to be gathered from various writers, a picture of the Jews in Rome is obtainable. This has been done by Hausrath,⁵ and for the following details we are, in the main, indebted to him:

Just as to the Gentile population of Alexandria the Jew was an object of scorn and contempt, and not infrequently a cause of serious annoyance, so, too, was he regarded by the citizens of Rome as a disagreeable element in their midst. Apart from other reasons, to which attention will be drawn, it was the distinctive customs of the Jews, exhibited with ostentatious display, that aroused the antipathy of the Romans; this feeling has also found expression in classical writings.⁶ Thus, the offering up of prayers in public, practising ceremonial purifications before the eyes of all, and other things whereby the Jews took a delight in showing the world in general how different they were from

¹ *Geschichte der Juden in Rom*, i. 26 (1894).

² *Op. cit.* iii. 63.

³ Dio Cass. xxxvii. 17.

⁴ The date of the Epistle to the Romans is rather later (A.D. 55); but it witnesses to the existence of a settled Jewish community there; much in the epistle shows that the Apostle was not addressing himself solely to Gentile Christians.

⁵ *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, ii. 383-92 (1875).

⁶ The references to classical writers are those given by Hausrath.

other people, were calculated to generate dislike, and to make the Romans feel that they had in their midst a strange and unsympathetic race who really had no right to be where they were.

A large element of the Jewish population in Rome was steeped in poverty, and as they were permitted to roam about in all parts of the city, and were never afraid to beg, it is easy to understand that Hebrew beggars became a nuisance.¹ Or if they did not beg, they importuned people in other ways; thus, we are told of Jewish women who claimed to be interpreters of dreams, and to be able to tell fortunes; they were willing to sell their pretended knowledge for a mere trifle, and, no doubt, imposed upon numbers of credulous Romans. 'Jews sell dreams for little pay; the Jews sell any and everything,' says Juvenal.² In their genius for business they made use of everything; they would accept bits of broken glass in exchange for their wares, Martial tells us.³ Owing to their poverty, Jews would sometimes resort to theft; their robbing of the heathen temples is referred to by Juvenal;⁴ this they might have regarded as a praiseworthy act.

But the poor Jews, importunate though they might be, were a nuisance rather than a serious annoyance. Far worse were the well-to-do Jews in the eyes of the Romans; for their innate pushfulness made their ubiquitous presence very distasteful. While trade, commerce, and shopkeeping were the most usual pursuits of the Jews,⁵ their activity was by no means restricted to these; sooner or later their energy and their sharp wits had to be reckoned with in every sphere; it was a source of pleasure to the Jew to measure his acuteness with that of the less-endowed Roman, and to overreach him; though the Jew had to pay for the gratification of his vanity by becoming an object of hatred, he usually obtained what he wanted. A better Jewish trait, and one that played its part in enabling him to feel at home in almost any calling, was his faculty of adaptability to environment, a thing which has characterized the Jew in all ages. Though it must often have been very embarrassing to his Roman fellow citizens, it was this faculty which played a great part in enabling the Jew to follow any calling which he observed the Gentiles to be following; mention is thus made of Jews as

¹ Martial, xii. 57.

⁴ *Sat.* xiv. 260; cp. *Rom.* ii. 22.

² *Sat.* iv. 541.

³ xli. 3.

⁵ Juvenal, *Sat.* xiv. 260.

officials, soldiers, scholars, poets, actors, singers, &c.;¹ Josephus tells us that in Puteoli he became acquainted with Aliturus, 'an actor of plays, and much beloved by Nero, but a Jew by birth'.²

But the desire to mix with the Romans in every sphere sometimes brought ridicule and contempt; we are told of how Jews would appear in the public baths and seek to get the best places; and then when they vainly endeavoured to conceal the mark of the Jew they brought down upon themselves general laughter and mockery.³ But such things did not daunt the Jew. Wherever he could bring himself into evidence, there the inevitable Jew was to be seen; there was, in fact, as Hausrath says, no spot too holy nor yet too unholy into which the Jew would not intrude. Clearly this type of Jew was a renegade, whose ancestral religion had lost all hold on him, and whose one great object was to do in Rome as Rome does. It is, therefore, probably not an exceptional case to which Martial refers in writing about some unnamed Jew, of whom he says that he can forgive him his envy, that he is not troubled about his stealing verses from others, but what pains him is that this inhabitant from Jerusalem should come and lead his son (Martial's son) into evil ways. Martial objects, too, to the fact that when the Jew swears by the thunder-god he is guiltless; Martial bids him swear by 'Anchialus', otherwise he will not believe him.⁴

In Rome, as elsewhere, when numbers of Jews were congregated together, the innate tendency to quarrel among themselves asserted itself. With amused contempt the Roman citizens would watch the noisy strife of Jews wrangling over some theological trifle; mutual abuse, mud-throwing, and even personal violence would at times reach such a pitch that the praetor had to come and separate the disturbers of the peace.⁵

It is a strong testimony, however, to the religious genius of the Jews (to touch upon another point), that, in spite of the general dislike for them, they were able to gain many proselytes from among the Romans; these belonged to all classes, from court circles downwards, as inscriptions on tombstones in the ancient Jewish cemeteries in Rome testify.

¹ Martial, vii. 82, xi. 94.

² *Vita*, 16.

³ Martial, vii. 82.

⁴ Martial, xi. 94; 'Anchialus' is a contraction of *Anoki Eloah*, 'I am God' (Exod. xx. 2), and was used by the Romans as a nickname for the God of the Jews.

⁵ Suetonius, *Claud.* § xxv.

That in Rome conflicts between Jews and Gentiles did not reach the pitch that Alexandria witnessed was largely on account of the difference of temperament between Romans and Greeks. But in both cities the Jew was an object of scorn and hatred (often through his own fault), but it is certain that there must have been many exceptions.

Some further knowledge about the Jews in Rome, above all, of their communal organization, is gained from Jewish inscriptions in ancient cemeteries and in the catacombs. The subject is too large to deal with in any detail here;¹ we can only indicate one or two important points regarding the Jewish communities in Rome which they reveal. In the inscriptions of the Vigna Randanini, found long ago, the names of three synagogues occur; but in the more recently discovered Monteverde inscriptions six others are mentioned. Altogether the names of eleven synagogues in ancient Rome have come to light. Many tomb-inscriptions of Jews have also been found; most of these are in Greek; but some are in Latin.

The first fact to be gathered from these inscriptions is that there were a number of independently organized communities of Jews in Rome, each possessing its own synagogue, and each under a separate *Gerousia* with its communal officials. There is nothing that points to a united community of Roman Jews ruled by one *Gerousia*, such as was the case in Alexandria; and this in spite of the fact that the Jews in Alexandria were far more numerous than those in Rome. Schürer explains this by the fact that in Alexandria the Jews had from the beginning formed a large and important element in the population, and had occupied a more dominating position than in Rome, where a compact organization of an alien race could not be permitted; here they were compelled to occupy the humbler position of small religious congregations (*collegia*), each being known by its special name, συναγωγή Αὐγουστησίων, συναγωγή Ἀγριππησίων, and others.²

The inscriptions show further that the different communities, or congregations, had their own particular cemeteries, but that at times several congregations combined and shared a cemetery;

¹ See Schürer, *Die Gemeindeverfassung der Juden in Rom* (1879); see also his *Geschichte der Juden* . . . , iii. 81 ff.; N. Müller, *Die Inschriften der jüdischen Katakomben am Monteverde zu Rom* (1919); Krauss, *Syn. Altert.*, pp. 247-60; Berger und Sietzmann, *Die jüdische Katakomben der Villa Torlonia in Rom* (1930).

² Schürer, *Gemeindeverfassung*, pp. 15 ff.

on the other hand, there are cases of inscriptions belonging to one and the same congregation being found in different cemeteries.

In every case the inscriptions mention the nature of the office, or the title, of the deceased member of the congregation; among these the following occur: *γερονσιάρχης*, the 'ruler', or 'head', of the *Gerousia*; *ἄρχων*, 'ruler', but not in the sense of the preceding; he was one of a body of men (*ἄρχοντες*) who acted in the name of the *Gerousia* in conducting the business affairs of the congregation, they were thus laymen; but one inscription mentions a *ἱερεὺς ἄρχων*, a ruler who was a priest. Cases occur in which the ruler is a child (*ἄρχων νήπιος*); such an honour bestowed upon a child may have been a mark of respect to the father who had earned the gratitude of the congregation; or possibly the title may have been hereditary in some cases. The office of *ἀρχισυνάγωγος*, 'ruler of the synagogue', is found several times, and is familiar to us from the Gospels. On one inscription the title *προστάτης* ('patron') occurs (cp. Rom. xvi. 2, where Phoebe is spoken of as a 'succourer [*προστάτις*] of many'); this must be in reference to a special supporter of the synagogue in question, or to one who was the representative of the congregation in the event of any difficulty arising with the Roman authorities. The terms, familiar to us from the New Testament, *γραμματεὺς*, 'scribe', and *ὑπηρέτης*, 'attendant' (Lk. iv. 29), are also represented. Finally, we have *πατὴρ συναγωγῆς*, 'father of the synagogue', and *mater synagogarum*, 'mother of the synagogues', which are both honorific titles.¹

3. BABYLONIA AND THE EAST

The Jews in this part of the world were scattered over a very wide tract of country, including Babylonia proper in the south, Mesopotamia stretching northwards, and Media to the north-east, as well as Parthia, farther east. They included the descendants both of the Israelites deported after the fall of Samaria in 722 B.C., as well as of those of the southern kingdom who were deported by Nebuchadnezzar in 597 and 586 B.C., and who elected to remain permanently in the land of exile, even though permitted by Cyrus to return to Palestine in 538 B.C. Their number was increased by those Jews who were taken captive by Artaxerxes III, Ochus, on his return from the

¹ Schürer, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-32; Krauss, *op. cit.*, pp. 250-60 (also pp. 114-37).

Egyptian campaign (346 B.C.), and who were settled in Hyrcania, a district bordering on the Caspian Sea, and in Babylon.¹ A reference to the rigid adherence of the Babylonian Jews to the Law is given by Hecataeus,² to the effect that when Alexander the Great required his soldiers to help in the restoration of the temple of Bel in Babylon the Jewish troops refused to take a hand in the building; they persisted in their refusal in spite of punishment; finally, Alexander granted them immunity. The context indicates that Hecataeus is referring to Babylonian Jews.

It is unnecessary to illustrate further the fact that there was a large Jewish population in this centre of the Dispersion for many centuries before the Roman period began.³ The most important settlements were in Nehardea and Nisibis, both cities situated on the Euphrates; the position of the former was especially favourable, as it was almost surrounded by the river, which formed a natural moat and made attacks on the city difficult. Nisibis seems also to have been a place of safety, for Josephus says that on account of their security these places were used as treasuries, where the temple-offering, the half-shekel given annually by every Jew, as well as other gifts, were stored up until the time came round for taking all these donations to Jerusalem. The sum must always have been very considerable, judging from the immense number of men ('many ten thousands'), who acted as escort when it was being conveyed to the Holy City. This is, therefore, a further indication of the large population in these lands of the Dispersion; the bulk were, however, to be found in Babylonia and Mesopotamia.⁴

Apart from their strict adherence to the Law, which is more than once insisted on by Josephus, we have scarcely any information about the religious affairs of these eastern Jews. But there is one interesting point that comes out incidentally. It will be remembered that Herod the Great, for reasons indicated above,⁵ appointed Chananel, 'who was of the Jews in Babylonia', to the High-priesthood;⁶ this Chananel was a member

¹ Syncellus, i. 486 (ed. Dindorf). The deportation of the Jews may have taken place a year or two earlier.

² Quoted by Josephus, *Contra Apion*. i. 192. Josephus speaks of many tens of thousands of Jews who 'dwelt about Babylonia' (*Antiq.* xv. 39).

³ Philo refers to the large number of Jews in Babylonia in his time (*Leg. ad Gaium*, § 36).

⁴ *Antiq.* xviii. 310 ff., 378.

⁵ See above, p. 355.

⁶ *Antiq.* xv. 34, 39, 40.

of the Hasmonaean priesthood, so that it was presumably this line of priests, and not the earlier line, which functioned among the Babylonian Jews.

The great majority of the Jews of the Dispersion of the east, it may safely be said, were content to live quiet and law-abiding lives, though, as we have said, beyond the fact of their loyal adherence to the laws and customs of their fathers, we have no information regarding their religious affairs. On the other hand, as must be expected in times of constant upheavals among nations, there were restless spirits, men with ambitions and of forceful personalities, sometimes honest, sometimes not, to whom a quiet life was intolerable; leaders who attracted followers to join them in a life of adventure and excitement, and who regarded fighting as a pastime. One of these, who seems to have been of the better type, was the Babylonian Jew named Zamaris; he lived in the time of Herod the Great. This man had a following of five hundred horsemen who were also skilful archers; on the invitation of Herod, he left his native settlement in Babylonia, and, with a numerous family, crossed the Euphrates, and came to Antioch. Herod granted him a piece of land in the toparchy called Batanaea; he demanded no tribute of him, and permitted him and his followers to dwell there without paying any taxes. Herod's object in doing this was to use Zamaris and his little army as a kind of mounted police for the neighbourhood; this had the twofold effect of safeguarding the peaceful inhabitants of the district from the attacks of marauding bands from Trachonitis, and also of protecting those Jews who came out of Babylon to offer their sacrifices at Jerusalem from being robbed. As a result, in the words of Josephus, 'a great number came to him from all parts where the ancient Jewish laws were observed, and the country became full of people by reason of their universal freedom from taxes'.¹ It is an interesting picture; this Zamaris, the Babylonian, was clearly an admirable character, and the Babylonian Jews had every reason to be grateful to him; Josephus speaks of him as 'having lived virtuously, and having left children of good character behind him'.

Of a different type were two brothers named Asinaeus and Anilaus who belonged to Nehardea. These two founded a kind of robber-state (about A.D. 20), and terrified the land around by exacting payments, stealing sheep and cattle, and demanding

¹ Ibid. xvii. 23 ff.

ransom for captives; travellers were not safe, for at any moment they might find themselves suddenly attacked and robbed. The brothers with their desperate followers were able to resist the forces sent by the Gentile Babylonians for a number of years—Josephus says they continued for fifteen years—but at last first one, and then the other, was killed.¹ The picture given by Josephus shows the terribly unsettled state of the lands forming the Parthian empire, and it is to be noted that some of the Jews, as this last episode shows, were among those who took a leading part in producing the unrest. For this, and doubtless for other causes too,² the Jews were hated by the Babylonians. It appears that as long as this robber-state lasted, abhorrent as the whole thing must have been to the better type of Jew, they profited by its check to any open violence occasioned by Babylonian hatred; certain it is that when the second of the brothers was dead, this hatred broke out in cruel persecution; and although the Parthian king, Artabanus, was friendly disposed towards his Jewish subjects, he found himself quite incapable of giving them protection. A great persecution took place in Nehardea, and many Jews fled to Seleucia, on the west of the Tigris. But here the Greeks, too, showed their hatred of the Jews by allying themselves with the Syrians and instituting a terrible massacre of the Jews—though Josephus' statement that 50,000 were killed must be somewhat of an exaggeration. Those who were able to escape fled to Ktesiphon; but even here they did not feel safe, so they once more returned to Nehardea and Nisibis and shut themselves up in these cities.³

On the other hand, the relations between the Jews and the Parthians had always been friendly; and though their friendliness had been disturbed for some years owing to the depredations of the two brothers and their followers, mentioned above, when this was over the good feeling was re-established. A remarkable indication of this is that soon after the robber-state had come to an end we read of a Jew (by religion, but not by race) becoming a vassal-king within the Parthian empire; this was Izates of Adiabene, who, together with his mother Helena and his whole family, embraced the Jewish faith.⁴ In spite of

¹ *Antiq.* xviii. 310 ff.

² Josephus says that Babylonian hatred was due to the 'contrariety of laws' of the Jews (*ibid.*, 371).

³ *Ibid.*, 377 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.* xx. 17 ff.

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the resentment felt by the leading families of Adiabene at this appointment, and of a conspiracy formed against him by the Arabian king of Edessa, Izates escaped all harm, and continued in his position for the rest of his days.¹

While we are thus able, somewhat scanty though the details are, to form a general idea of the condition of the Jews in the eastern Dispersion, we have, as already pointed out, but little knowledge of their religious affairs. As long as Jerusalem and the Temple stood intact Palestine was the centre of Judaism; but after the catastrophe of A.D. 70 this centre was soon shifted to Babylonia,² whence a profound influence extended over the Jews in all parts of the world. But this belongs to somewhat later times.

4. ASIA MINOR

While there is much evidence of the presence of Jewish communities scattered all over Asia Minor, very few details are forthcoming regarding their history. That they came from Babylonia, as stated in the Talmud,³ would seem to be true, for Josephus quotes a letter written by Antiochus III to his general Zeuxis, bidding him send two thousand families from among the Jews settled in Mesopotamia and Babylonia to Lydia and Phrygia. The reason for this action was that an insurrection had broken out in these latter provinces, and Antiochus believed that the Jews would be 'well-disposed guardians of our possessions.'⁴ This reason for the transplantation of Jews, like much else in the letter as presented by Josephus, may or may not be accepted as trustworthy; but the main point of the settlement of Jews in Asia Minor by Antiochus III need not be doubted. Elsewhere Josephus mentions a number of localities in which Jews were settled; Delos, Laodicea, Pergamos, Sardis, Ephesus; and from 1 Macc. xv. 23 it may be gathered that Jewish settlements existed in Samos, Halicarnassus, Myndos, Cos, Rhodes, Cnidus, Phasaelis, and Side. Other settlements are incidentally referred to in the Acts of the Apostles; in Pontus (ii. 9, xviii. 2), Ephesus (xviii. 19-21), Thyatira (xvi. 14), Antioch in Pisidia (xiii. 14 ff.), Iconium (xiv. 1), Lystra (xvi. 1), Salamis (xiii. 5), and Paphos (xiii. 6); synagogues are mentioned in some cases, showing that the settlements must have

¹ Ibid., 26 ff.

² *Antiq.* xii. 148 ff.

³ Neubauer, *La Géographie du Talmud*, p. 315 (1868).

⁴ Ibid. xiv. 231 ff.

existed for some time; and, doubtless, synagogues soon arose wherever there was a Jewish community. But the places mentioned are far from exhausting those in which there were Jewish settlements; from the papyri and other sources it is learned that the Jews were thickly scattered over Asia Minor and elsewhere.¹

The organization of these communities will have been similar to that which obtained in all Greek cities where Jews were congregated; they formed a *politeuma*, and were permitted perfect freedom in managing their own affairs, above all in the religious sphere; but citizenship in the strict sense was, of course, denied them for the reasons already given.

But in one respect the Jews of Asia Minor (and the same is also true of many of the Jews settled in various parts of Syria) showed themselves different from those of other centres of the Dispersion, namely in the adoption of Graeco-Oriental cults. Tarn gives some instances of this: 'Jewish synagogues in Mysia and at Delos did actually worship Zeus Hypsistos; and the "synagogues of Satan" at Smyrna and Philadelphia, "which say they are Jews but are not", point to some worship of the kind, seeing that the altar of Zeus at Pergamum figures in *Revelation* as "Satan's seat". Sabazios, too, became a Jewish god, from a fancied identity of Lord Sabazios with Lord Zabaoth . . .'.²

But things like this were aberrations and not typical of the Jews of the Dispersion in general; the great mass, wherever settled, loyally adhered to the ancestral religion; as Tarn says, apart from the cults just mentioned, 'anything Jews took from Hellenism was only outward form; few learned anything of its spirit. Whether a Jew adopted or rejected Greek forms he remained a Jew, a man whose ideals were not those of the Greek even if expressed in the same words.'

¹ A mass of material will be found in Schürer, *op. cit.* iii. 12-24; in Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'Empire romain*, i. 188-94 (1914); and in many parts of W. M. Ramsay *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, 2 vols. (1895 and 1897); see also Tarn, *op. cit.* pp. 191 f., 195 f.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 196.

Chapter XXVII

FROM THE DEATH OF AGRIPPA I TO THE OUTBREAK OF THE JEWISH WAR

SUMMARY

[On the death of Agrippa I the emperor Claudius had the intention of placing the son of the former, also named Agrippa, on his father's throne; but, following wise advice, he decided that, for the present, Judaea should be placed under procurators. It was, however, not many years before Agrippa II received lands over which to rule, as well as certain powers of administration with regard to Jerusalem. At this time the continued growth of Jewish exclusiveness caused renewed estrangement between the Jews and the surrounding non-Jewish peoples. Various occurrences showed, furthermore, that the relations between Agrippa and the Jews were anything but friendly. This cannot cause surprise, for both from a moral and a religious point of view Agrippa was not one to inspire respect.

In the meantime, the different procurators who had charge of what had been the kingdom of Judaea were confronted with grave difficulties. There was first the traditional reciprocal dislike between Jews and Gentiles. Added to this was the increasing lawlessness in the land, the religious fanaticism of the Pharisees, who had a great following among the people, and the fierce opposition of the Zealots. The procurators were certainly not ideal rulers, but the conditions of the times were such as to make their task impossible. During the rule of Felix and Festus things grew worse and worse; the climax was reached under the procuratorship of Florus; partly because of his maladministration, but mainly owing to causes which had been accumulating for years; it was during his procuratorship that the final catastrophe fell.]

I. AGRIPPA II

WHEN Agrippa I died, his one and only son, of the same name, was living in Rome under the care of the emperor Claudius. Although the young Agrippa was only seventeen years old, it was the intention of Claudius to place him on his father's throne. Wiser counsels, however, prevailed; it was rightly pointed out that a mere boy was quite unfitted to preside over a kingdom; especially when, as in the case of the Jews, he would have difficult and often intractable subjects to rule over.¹ It was, therefore, determined that the kingdom of the first Agrippa should again come under the care of procurators.

¹ *Antiq.* xix. 360-3.

For a few years the young Agrippa continued at the Roman court; then, in A.D. 48, he was given the small kingdom of his uncle, Herod of Chalkis, who had died; this was a somewhat insignificant domain lying in the Lebanon district. Later, in A.D. 50, he received in exchange for this 'the tetrarchy of Philip, and Batanaea', together with what had been the tetrarchy of Lysanias, namely Trachonitis and Abilene.¹ These lands he received at the hands of Claudius; to them were added later, by Nero, some parts of Galilee, also the Peraean city Julias with fourteen villages belonging to it.²

A notable sign of the desire of the Roman authorities to conciliate the Jews was that Agrippa received authority to appoint and depose the High-priest; the guardianship of the Temple and of the Temple treasury was also accorded to him;³ this also meant, of course, oversight of the Temple services. A similar spirit of accommodation was shown again, though this was through the mediation of Agrippa, when a quarrel broke out between the Jews and the Roman authorities regarding the question as to who was to have charge of the High-priest's sacred vestments; when the matter was referred to the emperor Claudius for settlement he decided in favour of the Jews.⁴ On the other hand, it was regarded as an abuse of his authority when Agrippa, on a later occasion, gave permission to the Levites to wear linen garments, which had hitherto been the prerogative of the priests; and when, too, he allowed the singers of hymns to chant psalms—the point of this latter is not quite clear from what Josephus says—for this was likewise looked upon as an innovation. Such things appear trifling, as no doubt they were; but they were taken very seriously by the religious leaders and their followers, who constituted the mass of the people. One sees this by Josephus' remark that in doing things like these, which were contrary to the Law, punishment would surely fall upon the perpetrator.⁵

Now this is symptomatic of an ingrained habit of mind which it is well to take note of; for the insistence on the observance of the minutiae of the Law brought with it a quite mistaken sense of superiority, with a corresponding feeling of contempt for all

¹ *Antiq.* xx. 138; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 247. ² *Antiq.* xx. 159; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 252.

³ *Antiq.* xx. 222; these rights had been exercised by his uncle before him (*ibid.*, 15, 16).

⁴ *Ibid.*, 6 ff.

⁵ *Antiq.* xx. 218.

who thought otherwise; this generated also a foolish hypersensitiveness, so that an unbalanced exhibition of indignation was displayed at the slightest attempt at interference, or what was regarded as such, especially when this involved what was conceived to be a breach of the Law. It was serious enough when such interference came from one who, like Agrippa, was more or less a Jew, and who claimed, at any rate, to have an interest in the Law; but when the Roman power took upon itself to do this, as in the case of the procurators, then hatred of the alien yoke allied itself with what was held to be loyalty to the Law in stiff-necked resistance which could not be bent, but only broken. And things were tending to this end more and more.

In another direction, too, Jewish exclusiveness had been sowing seeds which were now bringing forth dangerous growths. The self-centredness of Pharisaism, with its wide influence on the people, could not fail to arouse antagonism among the Gentile populations of Syria. One cannot despise others without generating reciprocal dislike. An ominous sign of this showed itself on the death of Agrippa I, when, as Josephus relates, the people of Sebaste and Caesarea celebrated with feastings the news of the death of one who had been so friendly to the Pharisees.¹ We shall come across other signs of mutual dislike between Jews and Gentiles later.

Not much is recorded of the reign, long though it was, of Agrippa; nor is this to be expected since it was not of importance either for Jewish or general history; for though it was during his lifetime that the great Jewish revolution took place which filled the whole scene of history in Palestine, this had nothing to do with any action of his, and the centre of revolt was not in his territory. His contact with the Jews of Jerusalem was not close, for his capital was Caesarea Philippi, though he had a residence in Jerusalem. His not living normally in their midst accounted in some measure for the not altogether happy relations between him and the Jerusalem Jews. We have already had one illustration of this; Josephus records another to the effect that Agrippa built on his palace in Jerusalem a dining-chamber on an elevated part so that he was able to overlook the Temple and observe the religious ceremonies being conducted there; but the priests objected to this, for they disliked being watched

¹ Ibid. xix. 356-8.

during such ceremonies, and especially while they were offering the sacrifices; so they built up a wall in the inner court of the Temple, thereby shutting out Agrippa's view. This displeased Agrippa, and at his wish the procurator, Porcius Festus, ordered the wall to be pulled down. But the Jews sent an embassy to the emperor, Nero, and obtained permission, through the intermediacy of the Queen Poppaea, to retain their wall.¹ Obviously this did not improve the relations between Agrippa and the Jewish priesthood.

The little that is known of the private life of Agrippa marks him as a man of degraded morals; his incestuous union with his sister Berenike, the widow of his uncle Herod of Chalkis, is sufficient to show this.² That his religious convictions were of the flimsiest character is undoubted; his apparent interest in the Jewish religion was entirely superficial, and prompted merely by political considerations; his sympathies were certainly more Roman than Jewish; the reference to him in Acts xxvi. 28, where he professes to be half-inclined to become a Christian, suggests that his Jewish faith sat lightly upon him.

Agrippa lived probably till A.D. 93, though this is not certain; he may have lived a few years longer. At his death his kingdom was undoubtedly incorporated in the province of Syria, though this is not actually recorded.

2. JUDAEA AGAIN UNDER ROMAN PROCURATORS

We have seen that, on the death of Agrippa I, what had been his kingdom was, with the exception of the lands granted later to his son, placed under the rulership of procurators.

While Agrippa II was, therefore, still living at the court of Rome under the protection of the emperor Claudius, the procurator Cuspius Fadus was sent to rule over the land of Judaea.³ Immediately on his arrival (44 A.D.) he came face to face with the problem with which all the procurators had to deal, and which finally brought about the downfall of the Jewish State; this was the problem of how to deal with the unruly elements of the land. We have referred to one of the causes of unrest, viz. the mutual dislike between Jew and Gentile; but there were at least three others which, during the next

¹ *Antiq.* xx. 195.

² *Ibid.*, 145-7; Schürer (*op. cit.* i. 590) quotes Juvenal's Satire, vi. 156-60, in which reference to the relations between Agrippa and his sister Berenike is made.

³ *Antiq.* xix. 363.

twenty-five years, all contributed towards bringing about the final catastrophe. There was the existence of lawless bands who lived by rapine and murder; this was nothing new in Palestine, but the prevalence of lawlessness embittered the general feeling of anger and contempt, on the part of the procurators, for a small and insignificant country which was constantly giving trouble of one kind or another; it was their main duty to keep order; they could hardly be expected to be able to distinguish between the various elements of the population. Still less could they appreciate—and this was a second cause of unrest—the reasons of divisions among the Jews themselves. Predatory bands, of whatever nationality they were composed, had to be repressed; quarrelsome Jews had to be made to keep the peace; in a word, here was a small corner of the empire constantly giving trouble; so that from the point of view of the procurators, who were responsible for order, the Jews were a nuisance; and though it is true that the procurators were inclined to ride roughshod over Jewish susceptibilities, it is only fair to bear in mind their point of view. Yet another cause of unrest, and ultimately the most serious, was religious fanaticism; to this we shall have to refer again later, as we have already had to do previously; here it is sufficient to point to the narrow-minded Pharisees who, with all their piety, were difficult to deal with; and, worse still, the extremist Zealots with their perverted ideas of freedom, and their false Messianism. It seems hardly fair to expect that the procurators should have been able to have much sympathy with a religion of which the main features, in their eyes, were, on the one hand, a foolish and obstinate insistence on futilities, and, on the other, a dangerous menace to the Roman power. They were certainly not men of high character, but we believe that Schürer is not quite just to the procurators in saying that ‘when one takes a general view of the history of the Roman procurators to whose care Palestine was now entrusted, one might conclude that by secret agreement and preconcerted plan they all aimed at driving the people to rebellion.’¹

When Cuspius Fadus, then, came to Palestine in 44 A.D. he found a miniature war going on between the Jews of Peraea and the Gentiles of Philadelphia. Scarcely had this been settled before he had to deal with some predatory bands under

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 565.

Tholomy the 'arch-robber', who had been doing great mischief in Idumaea.¹ Of neither of these episodes does Josephus give us any details; but obviously the settling of such matters must have taken time and trouble. Then came the difference with the Jewish religious authorities in Jerusalem to which reference has already been made; the High-priestly vestments, which for many years had been taken charge of by the Romans, and temporarily delivered to the High-priest when required, had been handed over altogether to the High-priest by the procurator Vitellius in the year A.D. 36; but now Fadus demanded that these vestments should, as formerly, be placed under the care of the Roman authorities. The Jews sent a deputation on the subject to Claudius, and through the good offices of Agrippa II, as we have seen, the matter was decided in favour of the Jewish religious leaders. Though Fadus had to submit, the quarrel did not improve his relations with the Jews.²

But the most serious affair with which Fadus had to deal was with the followers of one of the false Messiahs, named Theudas.³ Here again Josephus gives but a meagre account. The record is as follows:

'And when Fadus was procurator of Judaea, a certain impostor, by name Theudas, persuaded a great mass of the multitude to take their possessions and to follow him to the river Jordan; for he said that he was a prophet, and would with a word of command cleave the river and thus give them an easy passage (to cross over); and by affirming these things he deceived many. However, Fadus did not suffer them to reap the reward of their madness; but he sent against them a troop of horse, the which, having fallen upon them unawares, slew many, and took many alive. Theudas also they captured alive, and cut off his head, and carried it to Jerusalem.'⁴

This was but symptomatic of a general feeling of unrest among large sections of the people. Even with a few hundreds of like-minded men a religious fanatic may give a good deal of trouble.

How long Fadus retained the procuratorship, and for what reason he relinquished it, is not known. His successor, Tiberius Alexander, was the son of Alexander the Alabarch of Alexandria.⁵ The great famine which occurred during his rule may well have occasioned disorders, for though Josephus says nothing of these, his incidental remark that the two sons of Judas were put to death points to something of the kind; they

¹ *Antiq.* xx. 5 ff. ² *Ibid.*, 3. ³ See Acts v. 36. ⁴ *Antiq.* xx. 97. ⁵ *Ibid.*, 100.

would not have suffered the death penalty without some cause. However this may be, serious troubles arose during the administration of the next procurator, Cumanus.¹ The first of these, the seriousness of which Josephus evidently overstates, took place in Jerusalem during the Passover festival; it was occasioned by the indecent behaviour of a Roman soldier. The indignation of the worshippers was justly aroused at an act which desecrated the holy precincts; they called upon Cumanus to punish the evil-doer; instead of doing so at once, he exhorted them to be calm; it was a useless piece of advice to give to a great crowd moved by righteous wrath; in their excitement and anger at Cumanus' attitude, they accused him of having urged the soldier to the disgraceful act; this enraged Cumanus, who thereupon called out the troops to disperse the people; in the tumult that followed twenty thousand perished, according to Josephus.² That estimate cannot be accepted; but the episode eloquently illustrates the mutual hatred and contempt between the Jews and Romans. A further example of this is seen in the act of another Roman soldier, who publicly tore up a roll of the Law; in this case, it is true, the initial fault lay with some Jews who had waylaid and robbed a servant of the emperor.³ But the indignation at the tearing up of a copy of their Holy Scriptures was such that Cumanus felt it wise to appease the Jews by ordering the soldier to be put to death.

A much more serious affair, however, occurred a few years later. On the occasion of one of the festivals a number of Jews from Galilee were journeying to Jerusalem; on passing through Samaria they were set upon, and many of them were killed by the Samaritans. On this becoming known to the leading men of Galilee they came to Cumanus, and demanded vengeance. But Cumanus, having been bribed by the Samaritans, refused to do anything. Thereupon the Jews took matters into their own hands; under the guidance of two Zealots, Eleazar and Alexander, they made an incursion into Samaria, and coming into the neighbourhood of the Acrabatene toparchy, they indiscriminately murdered every one they came across and burned a number of villages. Then Cumanus arrived with a troop of horsemen from Caesarea, and slew a number of Jews, taking others captive. But, in the meantime, the Samaritan

¹ He probably became procurator in A.D. 48, but the exact year is uncertain.

² Ibid., 112.

³ Ibid., 113 ff.

leaders had brought their grievance against the Jews for raiding their lands before the Syrian legate, Ummidius Quadratus; almost simultaneously a Jewish deputation appeared before the legate complaining not only of the Samaritans, who had been the initial offenders, but also of Cumanus for having received bribes from them. Quadratus came down to Samaria and held a strict inquiry, the result of which was that the leaders of either side were put to death, and representatives of both the Jews and the Samaritans, together with Cumanus himself, were sent to Rome to lay their case before the Emperor. Thanks to the mediation of Agrippa II, who happened to be in Rome at this time, and Agrippina, the emperor's wife, Claudius decided in favour of the Jews; the Samaritan leaders were ordered to be put to death, and Cumanus was deprived of the procuratorship and sent into exile.¹ This was in the year A.D. 52. The action of the legate in humiliating the procurator (and this was not the only instance of it), wholly justified as it was, had the inevitable effect of depreciating respect for the office of the latter in the eyes of the Jews; as a consequence there arose a tendency on their part to spurn the procurator's authority, whereby lawlessness was further encouraged. As Schlatter says, this weakening of the civil power in Judaea was a contributing cause of the ultimate outbreak of the war.²

The names of the two following procurators, Felix³ and Festus, have a special interest for us on account of the references to them in the New Testament.

The truly deplorable state of affairs which arose during the procuratorship of Felix may have been in part due to inept rulership, though we shall see reason to doubt this. Tacitus, in writing about him, says that he was one of the favourite freedmen of Claudius, and 'a man who, from low beginnings, rose to power, and, with the true genius of a slave, exercised the tyranny of an eastern prince';⁴ and elsewhere he says that 'he inflamed the discontents of the people by improper remedies';⁵

¹ *Antiq.* xx. 118 ff.; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 232 ff.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 282.

³ Felix, who was appointed procurator of Judaea by Claudius, was a freedman: but this was a breach with the practice hitherto prevailing; all procurators of Judaea had up till now been *equites*. See further Additional Note M, p. 464 f.

⁴ *Hist.* v. 9.

⁵ *Annal.* xii. 54. It is impossible to reconcile the accounts of Tacitus and Josephus regarding Felix's procuratorship; according to the latter, Felix was sole procurator; but the former says that Felix governed the Samaritans, while the Galilaeans were

but he gives us no data as to the grounds of this estimate. Josephus, on the other hand, records a great many details; and though he is often biased (for his own reasons) he seems here to have kept a fair balance between his Roman inclinations and his Jewish sympathies; he also claims here especially to record 'with great accuracy' the history of these years. On reading the details which he then proceeds to give, it is impossible not to ask oneself whether Felix was not, at any rate to a large extent, the victim of circumstances. The evidence of the New Testament must be taken into account here; when the orator Tertullus accused the Apostle before Felix he spoke as follows: 'Seeing that by thee we enjoy much peace, and that by thy providence evils are corrected for this nation, we accept it in all ways and in all places, most excellent Felix, with all thankfulness';¹ and it cannot be said that this was mere rhetorical flattery when one considers the words of St. Paul, who was not one to conceal the truth: 'Forasmuch as I know that thou hast been of many years a judge unto this nation, I do cheerfully make my defence.'² Felix may not have been a very estimable man, but if he had been as bad as he has sometimes been represented, the great truth-loving Apostle is not likely to have addressed him in this way. We shall see in a moment that he was not afraid to give a home-thrust to the procurator and his shameless wife when necessary. This wife was Drusilla, in reality the wife of Azizus, king of Emesa, whom she forsook for Felix;³ she was the sister of Agrippa II, and thus a Jewess, guilty of adultery according to the Jewish Law. While Felix was her second husband, she was his third wife; so that we can well understand St. Paul reasoning with them 'of righteousness and self-control and the judgement to come';⁴ that Felix was terrified was, so far, a sign of grace. His expectation of a bribe from the Apostle to let him go free was so entirely in accordance with the custom of the times that one must not attach too much blame to Felix for this.

But whether Felix was responsible or not, and we believe that the evidence points to this not having been the case, or only in a modified degree, the lawlessness and unrest during his under the control of Cumanus. It must be acknowledged that in this case Josephus is likely to be better informed than Tacitus, to whom Jewish history was a very subordinate matter.

¹ Acts xxiv. 2, 3.

² Acts xxiv. 10.

³ *Antiq.* xx. 141 f.

⁴ Acts xxiv. 24, 25.

procuratorship increased in an alarming manner. A brief consideration of this is demanded.

Josephus begins by saying that the land was filled with robbers and impostors who 'deluded the multitude' (οἱ τὸν ὄχλον ἡπάτων);¹ this last expression does not fit in well with 'robbers', and there can be little doubt but that those to whom Josephus here refers were the Zealots, the enemies of Rome *par excellence*, who certainly deluded the multitude in so far that they supported any charlatan or misguided fanatic who gave himself out as a prophet or as the Messiah. That Felix, upon whom devolved the duty of keeping order in the land, dealt severely with these disturbers of the peace was nothing more than what he was bound to do; from his point of view they were merely robbers; for twenty years, we are told, the ring-leader Eleazar had been ravaging the land.² Doubtless popular feeling was inflamed against Felix; that was inevitable, but it was not for him to take any notice of that till it found expression in deeds.

His next trouble was with the High-priest, Jonathan, who had apparently been partly instrumental in getting Felix sent as procurator; this fact seems to have inspired Jonathan with the idea that he was called upon to act the part of mentor to Felix; that the latter resented this cannot occasion surprise. According to one account, the means which Felix took to be rid of his importunate adviser reflects disgrace upon him, for it is said that he had the High-priest assassinated;³ but according to the other account, Felix had nothing at all to do with this act.⁴ The murder was perpetrated by the extreme section of the Zealots, whom Josephus designates the *Sicarii*, so called from the daggers with which they armed themselves.⁵ It is very probable that this act is an indication of the anger of the extremists with the more moderate Pharisaic party for not supporting them in their anti-Roman frenzy.⁶ Undaunted by the punishment likely to be inflicted by Felix, these *Sicarii* gathered the masses and led them out into the wilderness, much in the same way as the Maccabees had done, in the hope of being attacked in a locality advantageous to themselves and gaining a victory, thereby heartening their deluded followers. An unexpected

¹ *Antiq.* xx. 160.

³ *Antiq.* xx. 162 ff.

⁶ Josephus significantly says that their object was 'a change of government' (*Bell. Jud.* ii. 259).

² *Bell. Jud.* ii. 253.

⁴ *Bell. Jud.* ii. 256.

⁵ Cp. *Antiq.* xx. 186.

ally appeared in Jerusalem at this time; this was some crazy person from Egypt who claimed to be a prophet, and who persuaded the mob to follow him to the mount of Olives, whence he would show them, he said, how by his command the walls of Jerusalem would fall down. As in duty bound, Felix immediately sent a force to scatter the peace-breakers, and many of them suffered death for their folly.¹ But the fact is that the fire of revolt was ubiquitous and quite beyond the power of one man with a limited force to quench. No sooner was one local conflagration damped down than another blazed up somewhere else. The people were everywhere stirred up, as Josephus says, and told that they must make war against the Romans and not obey them in anything; if they did not comply they were plundered and their villages set on fire.² It must be remembered that the military force in Syria was very moderate, two legions, i.e. some 12,000 men, for a very large tract of country; the claim that the majesty and power of Rome brought peace to all subject peoples made it appear unnecessary to the authorities to station large numbers of troops in any one province. Besides this, so far as Palestine was concerned, the entire soldiery was centred in Caesarea; the one exception to this was Jerusalem, where, according to Acts xxi. 31 (cp. xxiii. 23), a cohort was stationed.³ This explains the ease with which roving bands of rebels could concentrate at different spots, and, owing to the small number of troops available to be sent against them, they could not be surrounded and captured, but only dispersed, and therefore able to gather together again elsewhere.

The troubles of the procurator at this time were further aggravated by a riot between the Jews and the Gentiles in Caesarea regarding the privileges of citizenship; again Felix appeared upon the scene with his soldiers, and again there was bloodshed.⁴ It was apparently this Caesarea incident which occasioned the recall of Felix.⁵

Then, finally, to complete the tale, we hear of a quarrel, also occurring about this time, in Jerusalem, between the 'High-priest and the principal men of the masses'; as to the cause of the quarrel, Josephus says that it arose owing to Agrippa

¹ *Antiq.* xx. 167 f.; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 263.

² See further, Schürer, *op. cit.* i. 464 f.

³ *Antiq.* xx. 177; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 270.

⁴ *Antiq.* xx. 172.

⁵ *Antiq.* xx. 182.

having appointed a certain Ishmael, the son of Fabi, to the High-priesthood.¹

It is altogether a dismal story; the root causes are not to be sought in maladministration, though that doubtless aggravated the evils of the time; they were much deeper than that; they must be discerned partly in certain ingrained Jewish conceptions, to which reference has been made more than once; and partly to the inevitable consequences of historical development. The Jews, being what they were, and the Romans, following out their destiny, might have been harmless enough apart; but like two pieces of timber, they produced a conflagration through the friction of one against the other. We must not blame the procurators; short of the disappearance of Roman suzerainty in Palestine there was no remedy; or, from another point of view, short of the disappearance of the Jews from Palestine there was no remedy. The remedy came; but it was, in effect, the second alternative.

Felix was succeeded by Porcius Festus, probably in A.D. 60.² Little is told of his procuratorship; he had the same problem to face as his predecessors, viz. how to suppress widespread revolt against Roman domination with inadequate forces. There was no other course than to follow the methods of Felix and others, with the like merely temporary success. Josephus mentions the appearance at this time of yet another 'impostor', probably a false Messiah, who led the *Sicarii*, now more active than ever.³ Of Festus' support of Agrippa II in his quarrel with the Jerusalem priesthood mention has been made above. The main interest that Festus has for us is in his relations with St. Paul (Acts xxv, xxvi), in regard to whom he shows himself impartial and just.

Festus died in the second year of his procuratorship (A.D. 62). During the period between his death and the arrival of his successor, Albinus, the Sadducean High-priest, Ananus,⁴ summoned the Sanhedrin for the purpose of judging certain men accused of 'transgressing the Law', i.e. Christians, and condemned them to death by stoning; among them Josephus mentions James, 'the brother of Jesus who was called the Christ'.⁵ The authenticity of this passage, like the others in

¹ *Antiq.* xx. 179.

² *Antiq.* xx. 188.

³ He was the son of the High-priest of the same name mentioned in the Gospels.

⁴ *Antiq.* xx. 200.

⁵ On this date see Schürer, *op. cit.* i. 577 ff.

Josephus in which mention is made of Christ,¹ has been questioned; but there is much force in what Lightfoot says regarding it: 'This notice is wholly irreconcilable with the account of Hegesippus (Euseb. *H.E.* iv. 5). Yet it is probable in itself (which the account of Hegesippus is not), and is such as Josephus might be expected to write if he alluded to the matter at all. His stolid silence about Christianity elsewhere cannot be owing to ignorance, for a sect which had been singled out years before he wrote as a mark for imperial vengeance at Rome must have been only too well known in Judaea. On the other hand, if the passage had been a Christian interpolation, the notice of James would have been more laudatory, as is actually the case in the spurious passages of Josephus read by Origen and Eusebius (*H.E.* ii. 23), but not found in existing copies. On these grounds I do not hesitate to prefer the account in Josephus to that of Hegesippus.'² With this opinion Thackeray is in agreement.

The action of Ananus was resented by the citizens; a deputation representing them went to meet the new procurator, Albinus, who was then on his way to Jerusalem, and laid before him their complaint against the High-priest. The point of their grievance was that the Sanhedrin had not only pronounced the death-sentence, but had carried it out on their own initiative; in this latter the Sanhedrin had acted *ultra vires*.³ If the Sanhedrin condemned any one to death an announcement to this effect had to be made to the procurator, with whom it lay either to sanction the sentence or to annul it. The deputation of Jews, therefore, that came to Albinus were not actuated by any sympathy for the murdered Christians; their object was to keep a check on the arbitrary power of the High-priest and the Sanhedrin. The episode is interesting as showing the difference of view on the subject between the High-priestly party and another section of the Jews. Ananus was deposed from the High-priesthood, but continued nevertheless to be the

¹ On these passages see the convincing remarks by Thackeray, *Selections from Josephus*, pp. 182-91 (1919); with the exception of the one before us, he does not believe in their authenticity; see also Stählin, *op. cit.*, p. 596.

² *Galatians*, p. 366 (1884). The account of Hegesippus is given by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* ii. xxiii. 11-18), according to which James was first thrown down from the pinnacle of the Temple, and then stoned; even so, he was not yet dead, and was finally despatched by a fuller (γναφεύς) who beat him to death with a club.

³ See, however, Additional Note M, p. 465.

leading spirit of the priestly party. As Schlatter points out, this party held the trump card for the time being, because they could always concoct some grievance against the procurator and bring it before the emperor, for as long as Poppaea with her pro-Jewish feelings was dominant at the Roman court they knew that she would exercise her influence in their favour.¹

As to the character of Albinus, the new procurator, there cannot be two opinions; his one object was to get money, and he was quite indifferent as to the means whereby he obtained it. That the lawless elements were encouraged by him is also clear.² During his two years of office the already terrible state of the country grew still worse; it is evident that the ruinous path along which the nation was hurrying was drawing perilously near to the edge of the precipice.

The last of the procurators was Gessius Florus, who came to Judaea in A.D. 64, sent by Nero; he obtained the post through the influence of Poppaea, between whom and his wife there was friendship. Josephus makes out Florus to have been so bad that, in comparison with him, his predecessor Albinus was an excellent person; the reason for this low estimate of Florus as compared with Albinus was, according to Josephus that, whereas the latter perpetrated his evil deeds in secret, Florus did his openly!³ Josephus' exaggerated statements arouse suspicions as to his reliability; he speaks, for example, of not less than three millions of Jews being present on one occasion during the Passover; they came to Florus to give him a piece of their mind, whereupon he laughed at them.⁴ Such accounts cannot be taken seriously. And the other indictments which Josephus brings against him have not really much force in them, as Willrich has shown.⁵ Thus, in the matter of the quarrel between the Jews and the Gentiles of Caesarea, which had dragged on ever since the time of Felix's procuratorship, Josephus blames Florus; but the actual fact was that the Jews were embittered against Florus because he refused to be bribed by them, and would not take their part against the Gentiles although the quarrel had been decided by Nero himself in favour of the Jews; though, ultimately, it seems that Nero changed his mind and favoured the Syrians.⁶ No doubt, Florus was a desperate

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 280 ff.; see also *Antiq.* xx. 195.

² *Ibid.*, 204 ff., *Bell. Jud.* ii. 272 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 281.

⁵ *Das Haus des Herodes*, p. 160 f.

³ *Antiq.* xx. 253 f.; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 277.

⁶ *Bell. Jud.* ii. 284 ff.

character; and he paid as little regard to the emperor's commands as he did to Jewish bribes, when it suited his purpose; he does not appear to have been specifically inimical to the Jews. The country had before his time reached such a deplorable state that affairs were hopeless. However bad Florus was, it cannot be said, with Josephus, that it was he who forced the Jews to begin the war against Rome;¹ war had become inevitable before Florus appeared upon the scene. The actual and immediate occasion did, it is true, take place owing to something that Florus did, but this would not have precipitated the war had not the people as a whole been bent upon it. We have referred to the strife in Caesarea between the Jews and the Gentiles regarding their respective civil rights; the full details regarding this episode are wanting, but we know that Florus favoured the Syrian element, in consequence of which the Syrians obtained possession of the city, and the Jews retired in disgust. Naturally enough, the Jews in Jerusalem were greatly incensed at this rebuff to their fellow countrymen. It was at this point that Florus did a very foolish thing. He made a demand of seventeen talents from the Temple Treasury; the sum was comparatively small, and as procurator he was probably within his rights in making the demand. Why he asked for the money is not said, he merely gave out that Caesar wanted it. In ordinary times there would have been no difficulty about the matter; but for Florus to require this sum at a time when the feelings of the people were inflamed because of the injustice, as they held, done to their brethren of Caesarea, was, at the least, most unwise. It was represented as a sacrilegious robbery of the sacred Treasury which must be resisted at all costs.

Many a war has been brought about by what in itself was a trivial occurrence, but which was the spark that made the blaze; it was so in this case. Whether the greater blame attaches to him who struck the light or to those who piled up the fuel, we will not inquire. We must attempt to give a short account of the conflagration.

¹ *Antiq.* xx. 257.

Chapter XXVIII

THE JEWISH WAR

SUMMARY

[Florus' demand of seventeen talents from the Temple Treasury having been refused, he came to Jerusalem with a military contingent to enforce payment. His way to the Temple was barred by the populace. The Jewish leaders, seeing the danger of revolt, attempted mediation, but in vain, for popular passion was too highly inflamed to listen to reason. The force which Florus had brought with him was insufficient to quell the mob; he therefore retired to Caesarea.

In the meantime, the Zealots gained the upper hand entirely in Jerusalem. The religious leaders, both Sadducean and Pharisaic, begged Agrippa II to suppress the rising. He responded at once and came with a detachment of troops; but the rebels were now too strong. As soon as news of the revolt in Jerusalem became known, the Jews in many Syrian cities were attacked by the Gentiles; the area of the fighting was thus greatly increased.

In the autumn of A.D. 66 the proconsul Cestius Gallus advanced against Jerusalem with a considerable force; but he was defeated and put to flight. This Jewish victory convinced the fanatics that the Almighty was fighting for them. For the present, Jerusalem remained outside the sphere of operations, attention being concentrated on Galilee, where the campaign was conducted by Vespasian. Before the end of A.D. 67 Galilee was subdued.

In the spring of the next year Vespasian took in hand the subjugation of Judaea; he decided for the present to leave Jerusalem out of account, believing that the internecine fighting going on there among the Jewish parties would in due course render the city an easy prey. By the middle of the year practically the whole of Judaea was conquered. The news of the death of Nero made it imperative for Vespasian to attend to other matters, and for the remainder of this year (A.D. 68) the Jewish war was suspended.

During all this time the various parties in Jerusalem were fighting among themselves. For one reason and another the actual siege of Jerusalem did not begin in earnest until the spring of A.D. 70, when Titus arrived before its walls. In spite of the presence of the enemy outside the walls of the city the strife within between the different parties continued. But the end was at hand; the Romans captured wall after wall, however stoutly defended. The final stand was made within the Temple. The city was taken after five months' siege.]

I. INITIAL JEWISH SUCCESSES

WE have seen that the demand of the procurator, Gessius Florus, for seventeen talents from the Temple Treasury was refused. Whether such a demand was justified or not—and Florus held that it was—a Roman procurator could not accept such a refusal; it was a flouting of his authority to which he could not submit. He therefore proceeded to Jerusalem, accompanied by a military force, to carry out his will. It is evident that his way to the Temple was barred, for Josephus speaks of the cruelty of the soldiers and of the slaughtering of the citizens which took place. This, of course, only aroused the populace to greater fury, so much so that the Jewish religious leaders, both Sadducean and Pharisaic, seeing the danger of revolt, attempted mediation. They first went down among the people entreating them not to goad Florus on to further reprisals; then the entire body of the priests in holy garments, and carrying the sacred vessels came, urging the multitude to calmness. As a means towards conciliation they induced a large number of people to go out and greet a cohort which was advancing towards the city. This they did; but as their salutation met with no response, they grew angry, and began to abuse the Romans; these retaliated first with blows, and then they drove the people before them, killing indiscriminately. But their attempt to reach the Temple failed, for they were held up by masses of the Jews, and from all sides missiles were hurled upon them from the house-tops. Florus, realizing that his troops were insufficient to withstand the people, retired from Jerusalem,¹ and returned to Caesarea.

The legate, Cestius Gallus, received the report from the procurator that Jerusalem was in revolt. An officer was thereupon sent to Jerusalem to take stock of the situation; at the same time, word was sent to Agrippa II, who was then in Alexandria, informing him of the state of affairs. Agrippa was soon on the spot and made an earnest attempt to bring about peace.

Here it is necessary, in order to gain a true insight into the real cause of the war, to draw attention once again to the dominating factor which brought about this catastrophe. Had the real religious leaders of the Jews, namely the Pharisees, had their own way the war would never have taken place.

¹ *Bell. Jud.* ii. 327 ff.

They had all along, as we have already pointed out, been prepared to acquiesce in Roman rule; so long as they were left in peace in the exercise of their religion, it mattered little to them who were their rulers. In the present unrest it was not against Roman authority, as such, that they had any grievance, but against Florus, who, they held, was interfering with their religious rights in seeking to lay hands on the sacred Treasury. Yet even so, they were prepared to submit rather than that there should be open conflict, hence their urgent attempt to assuage the people. The Pharisaic party was, however, not strong enough to resist the Zealots, or to curb their influence among the masses of the people. The Zealots repudiated all authority; they looked for the intervention of God, who would send his Messiah to establish a Jewish theocratic State. In their fanaticism they believed that to fight against the Roman power was an act of loyalty to the Almighty. Apocalyptic visionaries, however earnest and sincere, could by their prophecies of the destruction of the tyrants only fan the flame of wild enthusiasm.

That they were supported by bands of robbers, freebooters, and rascals of every description, did not trouble them; in a good cause all instruments might be used, they held.

When, therefore, Agrippa arrived upon the scene he had no difficulty with the Pharisaic party; where he failed was in attempting to calm the Zealots. It was in vain that he pointed out to them their hopeless prospects in the face of the invincible power of Rome; their simple retort was that they relied on divine power; there was no answer to that. Ultimately, Agrippa was threatened with violence by them, and had to leave the city.¹ In fact, it is abundantly clear from the next step that was taken that the Zealots had now become dominant. A great assembly was held in the Temple at which it was decided that in future no offering from a Gentile was to be accepted. This was, in effect, a declaration of war, for it meant that the authority of the Roman emperor was no longer recognized. Ever since the time of Augustus a bull and two lambs had been offered daily on behalf of the Emperor and the Roman people²—this had, in the first instance, been the gift of Augustus—so that, if now no

¹ *Bell. Jud.* ii. 406 f.

² *Ibid.*, 197; it is there said that the Jews offered sacrifices 'twice every day for Caesar and for the Roman people'. That this was a gift from Augustus is said by Philo, *Leg. ad Gaium*, § 40; cp. § 23 (*Schlatter, op. cit.*, p. 444).

offering from a Gentile was to be accepted, it implied repudiation of the Roman Emperor, and of Roman suzerainty.¹

Against this the religious leaders, including the High-priestly party and the Pharisees, strenuously opposed themselves. They sent to Agrippa, begging him to come with troops in order to subdue the rebels and thus avert the danger of war. Agrippa, as the friend of Rome, again quickly responded; he sent a detachment of troops to support the anti-war party, and together they secured the upper city, while their opponents held the Temple hill and the lower city. But the royal troops, consisting of Jews as well as Romans, were not strong enough to withstand the rebels; the former deserted and went over to their brethren, the latter took refuge in the towers of Hippicus, Phasaël, and Mariamne; they were offered freedom if they laid down their arms; but on coming forth they were all killed. A like fate befell the High-priest and his brother.² But this internecine quarrel was not the only one among the Jews; we read of a certain Menahem, who appears to have had designs of his own; he, with a certain following, managed to seize the strong fortress of Masada, situated on the western coast of the Dead Sea, where he obtained a supply of arms and provisions. He came to Jerusalem with the idea, as it seems, of making himself king—at any rate he dressed himself in the royal garments, stolen presumably from Agrippa's palace; but neither the pro-war nor the anti-war party would have anything to do with him; so that, after more bloodshed, his followers were dispersed, Menahem himself being put to death. The remnant, under Eleazar, a kinsman of his, fled to Masada, vowing enmity against the Jews as well as against the Romans.³

The news of the revolt in Jerusalem spread very quickly over the country and one of the immediate results was an attack on the Jewish population in a number of cities by the Syrians; terrible slaughter took place in many parts of the country.⁴

By the autumn of A.D. 66 the legate Cestius Gallus arrived upon the scene from Antioch with a considerable force to put an end to the revolt. After some minor successes on the way down he occupied Sepphoris, in Galilee; then he came to Jerusalem and attempted to storm the Temple; but he was driven back,

¹ *Bell. Jud.* ii. 414 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, 446 ff.

² *Ibid.*, 417-41.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 457 ff.

and his retreat became a flight. Josephus says that comparatively few Jews were killed, but that the Romans lost 5,300 footmen, and 480 horsemen.¹ This defeat of the Romans took place in November; it naturally strengthened the Jewish fanatics in their belief that God was with them.

2. THE CAMPAIGN IN GALILEE

The Jews had sufficient knowledge of the Romans to know that this victory, so far from daunting them, would be the signal for more serious war. Accordingly, preparations were made by appointing military commanders in the different parts of the country; Josephus himself was placed in command of Galilee,² where, however, he found a rival in John of Gischala, who seems to have caused him much annoyance.³ For the moment Josephus held his own. John soon showed himself a doughty leader, and gave the Romans a good deal of trouble in his stronghold of Gischala, whither he withdrew for fear of Josephus.⁴ In Jerusalem, too, preparations were made; the walls were repaired, offensive weapons were collected, and the young men were drilled.⁵

On the Roman side Nero appointed Vespasian to conduct the campaign. In the winter of A.D. 66-7 Vespasian went to Antioch and gathered his army; in the spring of A.D. 67 he advanced to Ptolemaïs, where he received the submission of the city of Sepphoris. He was soon joined by his son Titus with another army; together they mustered 60,000 men.⁶

The Jews could not fail to see the futility of meeting their enemies in open battle; their only course was to shut themselves up in a number of fortified places and to wait for what they were convinced would surely come to pass, i.e. divine intervention. In most cases the defenders of these fortified places were unable to hold out against the attacks of the Roman soldiers; but Jotapata, north of Sepphoris, where Josephus had his headquarters, held out for forty-seven days, when it was forced to capitulate.⁷ Josephus gave himself up, and, being brought before Vespasian, prophesied that he would succeed Nero as emperor; thereupon Vespasian treated him kindly, but kept

¹ *Bell. Jud.* ii. 555; see the whole of the long passage, ii. 457-555.

² *Ibid.*, 566 ff.; *Vita*, 30.

⁴ *Bell. Jud.* ii. 632.

⁷ Josephus gives a very long-drawn-out account of the siege, *ibid.*, 132 ff.

³ *Bell. Jud.* ii. 590 ff.; *Vita*, 94 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.* iii. 64 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 647 ff.

him prisoner.¹ Tiberias surrendered without a struggle; Tarichea (Magdala) put up a fight, but was soon taken. In a short time all the country west of the Jordan was subdued, with the exception of Gischala; the fortress on Mount Tabor also still held out.² On the east of the sea of Galilee the fortress of Gamala gave considerable trouble; but this, too, fell; though some strongholds in the country east of the Jordan still held out. The final task was to take the two remaining strongholds which were holding their own in the west. Titus was sent against Gischala, where the redoubtable John was in command; the latter asked for a truce because it was the Sabbath day; this being granted, he escaped during the night and fled to Jerusalem;³ the fortified city, forsaken by its leader, then surrendered. As to the fortress on Mount Tabor, the besieged were enticed by a ruse, and many were slain.⁴

Before the year A.D. 67 was out the whole of Galilee was subdued, and Vespasian returned to Caesarea for the winter.

3. THE SUBJUGATION OF JUDAEA

Early in the spring of the year A.D. 68 Vespasian set out once more to continue his task. Owing to the state of Jerusalem, brought about by the strife of parties there (see next section), Vespasian's generals counselled an immediate attack upon the city, maintaining that the internal fighting would make its capture easy. Vespasian decided, however, to let the Jerusalem forces weaken themselves by continued fighting against one another, while he turned his attention to the rest of Judaea.⁵

His first objective was Gadara, 'the metropolis of Peraea'; though a city of considerable strength it very soon fell into the hands of the Romans; in fact, the majority of the citizens received Vespasian with joyful acclamations. As it was still early in the year (March), Vespasian returned to Caesarea before recommencing the campaign in earnest; but he left his general Placidius, with three thousand footmen and a body of horsemen, to settle with the surrounding district; by his energy the whole of Peraea, with the exception of Machaerus, was subjugated.⁶

A little later in the year Vespasian again returned south from

¹ Ibid. 399 ff.; Suetonius, *Vesp.* v, mentions both the prophecy and Josephus by name, which seems to prove that Josephus really did make the prediction.

² *Bell. Jud.* iv. 1.

³ Ibid., 98 ff.

⁴ Ibid., 54 ff.

⁵ Ibid., 366 ff.

⁶ Ibid., 419 ff.

Caesarea with a considerable army, and by the beginning of June practically the whole land, with the exception of some notable strongholds and of Jerusalem, was subdued. Josephus sums up the course of events thus: Vespasian came to Antipatris; a couple of days sufficed to take this; then the surrounding villages were ravaged. The toparchy of Thamna suffered a like fate. A large number of Jewish refugees who had come over to him were then placed in Jamnia, which had already been taken; these refugees formed the nucleus of what before long became the most important Jewish community in Palestine. Further, after taking Emmaus, Vespasian overran Idumaea; thence he turned north into Samaria; and then, coming south once more, Jericho and Adida were captured, and Roman garrisons were placed in them.¹

The ground was now fully prepared for the final blow at Jerusalem; before undertaking this Vespasian returned once more to Caesarea. But scarcely had he arrived there before the news of Nero's death reached him. This involved a change of plans; it was imperative for Vespasian to keep an eye on the confused state of affairs at the centre of the empire. The Jewish war was, therefore, suspended. For the rest of this year (A.D. 68) nothing further was done.

4. THE POSITION IN JERUSALEM²

Vespasian's resolve to leave Jerusalem to self-destruction while he dealt with the remaining strongholds of Judaea certainly seemed justified by the events occurring within the city. Upon the whole, it was probably wiser, from his point of view, to let the mutual hatred of the parties there increase by continual strife unimpeded, before the attack was made; for if, following the advice of his generals, the siege had been taken in hand at once, before party antagonism was sufficiently hardened, there was the possibility that the presence of the chief enemy might produce a temporary joining of forces among the contending parties in order to resist the common foe.

We have seen that the leader of the Zealots, John of Gischala, escaped from Titus, and fled to Jerusalem. He brought with him a following of desperadoes, and between them they managed to persuade many, especially the younger men, to join

¹ *Bell. Jud.* iv. 440 ff., 486 ff.

² Cp. Dio Cass. lxxvi. 4 (Reinach, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-95).

them in opposition to the more moderate party, headed by Ananus, the High-priest. As the Zealots were in a minority they secretly solicited the help of the Idumaeans, whom they admitted into the city at night-time. The Idumaeans fell upon Ananus and his followers; many were killed, among them Ananus himself. The Idumaeans then withdrew to their own land.

But John of Gischala was not the only leader of the Zealots—a certain Eleazar¹ also had a considerable following in the city; he managed to take possession of the Temple, which was turned into a fortified place. These two Zealot leaders thus took up an attitude in opposition to one another. Then, to complicate matters still further, the moderate party, with the idea of weakening the Zealots, invited another Zealot leader with his following into the city, knowing that all these leaders were at daggers drawn. This new arrival was one Simon Bargiora; he had been in Judaea the counterpart of John of Gischala in Galilee. There were thus three parties of Zealots in Jerusalem, each with its own leader, and all fighting against one another; Eleazar in the Temple, John of Gischala in the outer Temple buildings, and Simon Bargiora in the city itself. The fighting between these three parties went on for some time; finally John of Gischala captured the Temple, and Eleazar's party coalesced with his.²

The lot of those who belonged to the moderate party, now in a considerable minority, can well be imagined; they could not leave the city, the Zealots saw to that; ultimately it came to the alternative that either they threw in their lot with the Zealots, or else they were put to death.

Such was the state of affairs in Jerusalem when the final act of the tragedy began.

5. THE SIEGE AND FALL OF JERUSALEM

In the year A.D. 69 Vespasian sent his son Titus to Rome to congratulate the new Emperor, Galba, while he himself proceeded against Jerusalem.³ But Vespasian's thoughts were elsewhere; the terrible confusion which had been going on during

¹ *Bell. Jud.* vii. 253 ff.

² *Ibid.* iv. 196 ff. The course of events as described by Josephus is by no means easy to follow, and one cannot always be certain of the chronological sequence.

³ Tacitus, *Hist.* ii. 1.

this year in other parts of the empire,¹ and the bright prospects of his succeeding to the principate, filled his mind with more important matters than that of the siege of a provincial city. For the time being, Jerusalem was left to its own devices, and Vespasian returned to Caesarea. He was then proclaimed emperor by his troops.² He thereupon sent an army to Italy to overthrow Vitellius, who was now in the ascendant, while he journeyed to Alexandria to await events.³

It is well to recall here a fact of which we are reminded by Schlatter,⁴ and which cannot have been without effect on the subsequent attitude of the citizens of Jerusalem. The war had been in progress for over three years, and during the whole of this period Jerusalem had been in open rebellion, with never a gate closed, with free egress and ingress; and yet the mighty Roman legions had never attempted an attack. Several times Vespasian had come threateningly near; but had always drawn off again. How could it have been otherwise than that the people should have been confirmed in their belief in the inviolability of the City of God? With war surging all around, with stronghold after stronghold swept away by the war-flood, with the bloody tide rising sometimes to within sight of the very walls of that City on a hill, which alone stood unscathed in defiance of procurator, legate, emperor—must it not have seemed that the hand of the Almighty Himself was poised over the place where His honour dwelt to keep it safe and unpolluted from the inroad of unclean Gentiles? This, it may be confidently asserted, was the view and conviction of the Zealots, blinded as they were by unreasoning fanaticism. And it will account for much of what followed in the subsequent months; a resistance, heroic, no doubt, but purblind, obstinate, and mad.

It was not till the spring of A.D. 70 that the army under the command of Titus arrived before the walls of Jerusalem. At the very outset of the siege Titus, while reconnoitring in the near neighbourhood of the city, barely escaped capture; his troops were attacked by a sudden sortie and were in danger of being overwhelmed; it was only through his personal bravery that a catastrophe was averted.⁵

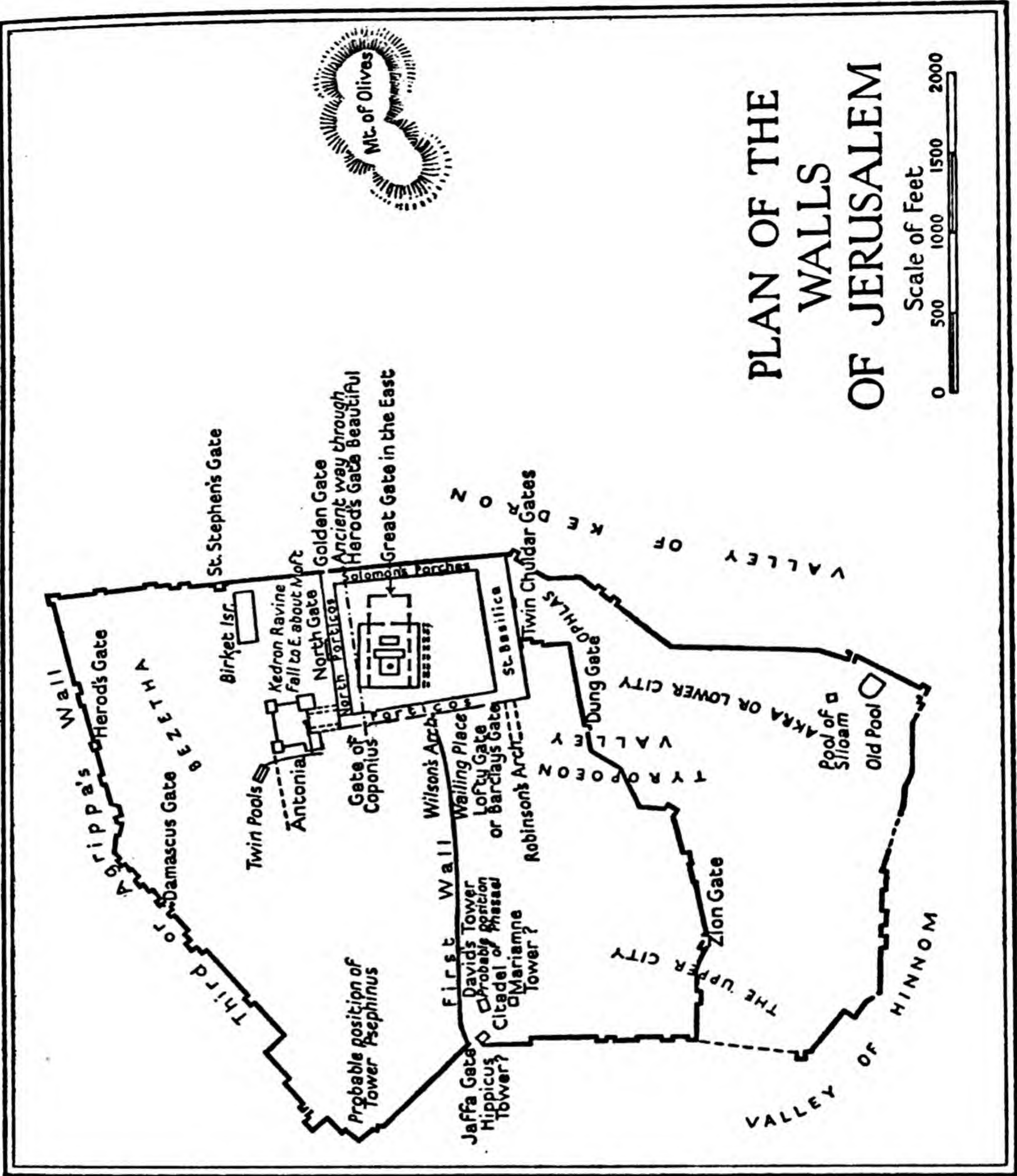
¹ The 'year of the four emperors', as the year A.D. 69 is called by our authorities (Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.* ii. 22).

² *Bell. Jud.* iv. 592 ff.; Tacitus, *Hist.* ii. 74-9.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 332.

³ *Ibid.*, 82, 87 ff.

⁵ *Bell. Jud.* v. 54 ff.



PLAN OF THE
WALLS
OF JERUSALEM

Scale of Feet
0 500 1000 1500 2000

Even with the Romans before their walls the strife within the city continued. In the struggle, as already pointed out, between John of Gischala and Eleazar the latter was worsted; thereupon Simon Bargiora joined forces with John, and their combined armies made serious attacks against the Romans.¹ Fighting continued for fifteen days; then the first of the three walls was broken through by the Romans and most of it was demolished.² Titus was thus able to encamp within the city. The second wall, which stretched from the Jaffa gate to the tower of Antonia and the northern side of the Temple, was very stoutly defended. Constant sallies were made, and the enemy was driven back; the wall was twice captured by the Romans, and twice they had to withdraw from it. The struggle went on for three days; but on the fourth, after another vigorous assault, the Romans once more took it and razed a large portion of it to the ground.³ The final stand was made within the Temple. Hitherto, in spite of more or less incessant fighting, and although famine was sore, the daily sacrifices, morning and evening, had continued; now this became impossible 'for want of men to offer them'.

Josephus, who was with the besieging army, tells us that he made an earnest attempt to persuade the people to surrender, but in vain.⁴ The terrible struggle continued, until at last the Romans set fire to the Temple.⁵ But even this was not the end; Simon Bargiora and John of Gischala managed to escape from the burning Temple with a handful of the Zealots to the upper city; they continued fighting desperately, but were finally overcome; some few escaped, the rest were killed. The Romans ravaged the city, plundering and murdering; it was finally given over to the flames.⁶ The capture of the city had taken five months to complete.

After the fall of Jerusalem Titus made a triumphal progress northwards along the coast, stopping at the important cities of Caesarea, Caesarea Philippi, and Berytus, and so on to Antioch. Masses of Jewish prisoners followed in his train, and during his sojourns in these cities grand spectacles in the amphitheatres were offered in which the prisoners had to entertain the people by killing one another in gladiatorial combats.⁷ From Antioch he went to Alexandria, and on his way thither he once more

¹ *Bell. Jud.* v. 98 ff., 265 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vi. 1 ff.

⁶ *Bell. Jud.* vi. 271 ff.

² *Ibid.*, 296 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 232 ff.; Dio Cass. lvi. 6.

³ *Ibid.*, 303 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, vii. 24.

viewed the ruined remnants of what had been Jerusalem; here nothing more was to be seen than the citadel, with its three towers, and part of the west wall.¹ Finally he reached Rome, where a magnificent reception from Vespasian and the people awaited him. Josephus gives an interesting and detailed account of the great triumphal procession in honour of Vespasian and Titus; among the trophies carried away were the sacred belongings of the Temple, 'the golden table of the weight of many talents', i.e. the table of the shewbread, the seven-branched candlestick, and a roll of the Law; the two former were later deposited in the Temple of Peace, erected by Vespasian; he kept in his own palace the roll of the Law and the purple veils of the holy place.²

The fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple made a break in the history of the Jews which can be compared only with the catastrophe of 586 B.C. The untold number of those who had perished during the four years' war, and the many thousands who had been taken prisoners and sold as slaves in different parts of the world, had left a mere remnant of Jews in Judaea. Hitherto the Jews all over the world had looked to Jerusalem and the Temple for instruction, guidance, and inspiration. With the disappearance of the religious centre it might wellnigh have seemed that Judaism was doomed, and that the Jews would be absorbed in the nations of the world. But it was not so, as the subsequent history will show. To this we must now turn.

¹ Ibid., 1; the towers were those of Hippicus, Phasaël, and Mariamne.

² Ibid., 123 ff.

Chapter XXIX

AFTER THE WAR

SUMMARY

[Even the fall of Jerusalem did not at once wholly put an end to the war; some isolated strongholds in Judaea held out for a few months in forlorn desperation; but eventually they, too, fell. A strong Roman force was left in the country. One of the results of the war was that the friendly relationship between the Jews and Rome, which had lasted so long, was finally ended. On the site of the Temple a heathen shrine was erected; the Temple-tax, which the Jews all over the world had hitherto paid for the upkeep of their sanctuary and its services, was now used for the benefit of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in Rome. Other taxes were also laid upon the Jews.

With the disappearance of the Jewish State the Sadducean party ceased to exist; similarly the fanatical nationalists; the Pharisaic party alone survived, and their whole activity was now more than ever centred on the study and inculcation of the Law; the most prominent among the Pharisees at this time was Jochanan ben Zakkai.

In the Dispersion opposition to Rome continued in some centres after the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple; this was notably the case in Alexandria. Not long after, outbreaks took place in other parts of Egypt, in Libya, in Cyrene, where the Jews perpetrated terrible cruelties on the Gentile population, and on the island of Cyprus; in Mesopotamia, too, there was a rising. These outbreaks in widely separated parts were a serious menace, owing especially to the fact that the Roman garrisons were largely depleted in order to supply reinforcements for the Parthian war. It was only with difficulty that these various centres of disaffection were quieted.

During all these years the Jews of Palestine itself remained passive, this being due, no doubt, to the shattering blows they had received during A.D. 66-70. They were, however, once more aroused owing to two edicts of Hadrian; the first of these involved the abrogation of the rite of circumcision; the second ordered the building of a shrine to Zeus on the site of the Temple, and the rebuilding of the city, which was now to be named Aelia Capitolina. The revolt of the Jews, under their leader Bar-Kokhba, was so sudden and spontaneous that the Romans were taken unawares. The war lasted for three years and a half. The losses on both sides were appalling. Finally the Jews were crushed, and they remained henceforth scattered aliens over the world.]

I. PALESTINE

JUDAEA had henceforth its own procurator, of the senatorial rank, independent of the Syrian legate.

Even the total destruction of Jerusalem¹ did not immediately bring the war to an end. The ingrained conviction that divine intervention would take place even in the darkest hour induced some of the most stubborn to hold out against the Roman soldiery in certain strongholds. Thus, Herodeion, to the south of Jerusalem, needed subduing by the new legate, Lucilius Bassus. Though this was speedily accomplished, the fortress of Machaerus, on the southern border of Peraea,² gave more trouble on account of its very strong position; but ultimately this fortress also fell into the hands of the Romans.³ The most difficult to take of all the strongholds was Masada; this fortress, built on a rock, was inaccessible on three sides; the defence of it was, therefore, comparatively easy, especially when defended by the desperate *Sicarii*.⁴ The task of reducing this devolved upon Flavius Silva, who succeeded Bassus.⁵ The long account which Josephus gives of the siege of Masada describes the difficulties with which the besiegers were faced and the vigorous defence of the besieged. The knowledge on the part of these latter of what their fate would be if captured explains the gruesome end of the siege; they slew their wives and children and then killed each other; so that when the Romans entered the place they found their work completed.⁶

Masada was the last stronghold to fall; with its capture the last vestige of the war, so far as Palestine was concerned, disappeared.

Rome's experience of the extraordinary powers of endurance and the tough resistance of the Jews warned her that stern precautionary measures were demanded if any recrudescence of the revolutionary spirit was to be kept in check. Palestine had,

¹ Josephus says that apart from the three towers which were spared (see above) and the wall by them, the razing of the city was so complete that those who looked upon its site would not have believed that it could ever have been a place of habitation (*Bell. Jud.* vii. 3).

² 'The length of Peraea is from Machaerus to Pella' (*ibid.*, iii. 46).

³ *Ibid.*, vii. 163 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 253 ff.; Masada lay on the western coast of the Dead Sea (vii. 280 ff.). See Schulten's valuable monograph, *Masada . . .* (1933).

⁵ He had died in Judaea previously, but Josephus gives no details.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 275 ff.

therefore, been placed in charge of a procurator of senatorial rank immediately after the fall of the city. Caesarea¹ continued to be the head-quarters as heretofore. A Roman force was stationed on the site of Jerusalem; another military centre was established at Emmaus.

The fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple, together with the downfall of the Jewish State, were the inevitable outcome of the two irreconcilable points of view, the Roman and the nationalistic-Jewish, the first clash of which had sounded when Pompey had placed his foot on Palestinian soil as the representative of the new world-power. But for long, owing to the pro-Roman attitude of the Jewish rulers, Rome had looked upon Judaea with a kindly eye; Roman friendship for the Jews had become traditional.² Now one of the most sinister consequences for the Jews of the fall of Jerusalem was the very different relationship between them and Rome which arose. Hitherto, as we have shown, there had been friendship; the consideration shown for Jewish susceptibilities had on many occasions been very marked; above all, there had never been any interference with the full exercise of the Jewish religion, its practices and customs. The experience of the last few years brought about a great change in all this. As rebels who had been subdued only by the employment of force long sustained, the Jews were naturally regarded as a potential source of danger to the empire; and, as the sequel shows, this estimate was not a mistaken one. It followed that Rome's treatment of the Jews could not be what it had been.

A notable mark of changed relationship was the ordinance put forth by Vespasian, according to which the Temple-tax, hitherto sent by the Jews all over the world for the upkeep of the Temple services, was now to be used for the benefit of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in Rome.³ The sting here did not lie in having to pay the tax, to which the Jews had been accustomed from time immemorial, but from the fact that they were forced to support a heathen temple. This was in addition to the *fiscus judaicus*, levied on every Jew; an impost which Domitian, soon

¹ Caesarea by the sea, not Caesarea Philippi, which was situated at the head of the Jordan valley by mount Hermon.

² It will be realized that a distinction must be made between the Jewish rulers with their followers and the turbulent bands of fanatical Jews who were repudiated by the rulers, and who gave so much trouble to the Romans.

³ *Bell. Jud.* vii. 218; *Dio Cass.* lxxvi. 7; cp. Appian, p. 50 (Reinach, *op. cit.*, p. 152).

after, laid not only on all who were Jews by race, but also on all proselytes to Judaism; Roman citizens who accepted the Jewish religion were especially sought out and punished.¹

According to Hegesippus, quoted by Eusebius,² persecutions against the Jews took place in the reigns of Vespasian, Domitian, and Trajan, owing to Jewish hopes of the advent of the Messianic king. While it is probable that some historic kernel is contained in what Hegesippus says, the fact that no persecutions are hinted at by any other ancient writer makes it fairly certain that they were not of a serious character.

2. PHARISAISM

It is of importance to observe how the Jewish parties were affected by the disappearance of the Jewish State. During the two preceding centuries or thereabouts, there had existed, as we have seen, the High-priestly Sadducean party, composed mainly of the aristocracy, which had acted as a mediating element between Rome and Palestine. Obviously, there was no place for such a party in the new régime. The Sadducees are no more heard of; the incidental references to them in Rabbinical writings occur merely for the purpose of illustrating and refuting teaching opposed to orthodox Judaism. Secondly, there had been the nationalistic party which had been the real cause of all the trouble that had come upon the people. Originally, the adherents of this party had been actuated by motives which were good, though based upon mistaken conceptions; their blind fanaticism had been largely fanned by the extravagant prophecies of Apocalyptic visionaries, and their hopes nourished by promises of divine intervention on their behalf in the near future. But as time went on the earlier ideals waned, and, with the absorption of disreputable elements within their ranks, the Jewish nationalists became a terror to the rest of their own people and an intolerable nuisance to the Roman rulers. Though it took some time to root out these fanatics, sooner or later the nationalist party was bound to disappear; with prophecies falsified and hopes disappointed its *raison d'être* ceased. There remained the Pharisaic party; opposed to the Sadducees on three counts, their worldliness, their heterodoxy, and their disloyalty to the Law; opposed to the nationalists on account of their deceptive apocalyptic expectations, and on account of their

¹ Suetonius, *Dom.* xii. 2; Dio Cass. lxxvii. 14. ² *Hist. Eccles.* iii. 12, 19, 20, 32.

fighting fever,—the Pharisees formed the only party which could survive, the only party which deserved to survive, for they had held to all that was best in Judaism, and in their love of peace, and in their acquiescence in Roman rule, they could in no sense be regarded as a menace to the Roman State. To the Sadducees the present had been all-important; the nationalistic Apocalyp-
tists had looked to the future; the Pharisees differed from both of these in looking to the past for inspiration. The revelation of the divine will accorded on Mount Sinai, as embodied in the Law, this was the source from whence the Pharisees derived inspiration and guidance; they had for long worked and taught in this sense, but with only partial success; now their time had come. From now onwards Pharisaic influence increased more and more; disillusionment had a sobering effect upon the masses who had been hypnotized by the glowing pictures of world-power presented to them by their former leaders; the visionary future was displaced by the stern reality which now faced them; there was neither hope nor comfort nor guidance excepting in what was offered by Pharisaism. And, indeed, it soon became apparent that there were points of attachment between what the Pharisees taught and the hopes and ideals which had been cherished by the Apocalyp-
tists; the Messianic hope, with all that this implied, the final supremacy of Israel, the belief in the resurrection of the dead,—these were things which had figured pre-eminently in the Jewish nationalist outlook, and were definitely part of the Pharisaic creed; true, they did not stand in the forefront like the Law, but that was because, as they said, such things were in the hand of God, who would in His own good time bring all to pass; man's present concern was the fulfilment of the will of God as set forth in His Law. But that these doctrines were taught by the Pharisees made it much easier for the masses in the early days of disillusionment to accept their now exclusive leaders.

Of these leaders the most prominent after the fall of Jerusalem was Johanan ben Zakkai.¹ He gathered a band of pupils about him and settled down in Jabneh (Jamnia), and by degrees established a new centre for the study of the Law. The academy

¹ A story is told of him that when, during the siege of Jerusalem, he was reduced to despair owing to the strife of parties, he got into a coffin and had himself carried out of the city as a corpse to the Roman camp (Midrash, *Ekaḥ*, x. i. 5).

over which he presided there exercised an authority similar to that of the Sanhedrin at Jerusalem before the war.

3. THE JEWS OF THE DISPERSION

It was not only in Palestine that despairing resistance continued for some little time even after the fall of Jerusalem. In some centres of the Dispersion also attempts were made by the Jews to brave the power of Rome. One of these centres was Alexandria. A number of fugitives from Jerusalem found their way here and sought to arouse their co-religionists against their imperial rulers. But finding that the Jews of Alexandria were averse from such a step, the rebels put some of the loyal leaders to death, hoping thereby to compel the masses to join them in their design. Affairs became so menacing that the heads of the Alexandrian Jewish *Gerousia* called an assembly of their people in order to decide upon their course of action. The result was that an attack was made upon the revolutionaries, six hundred of whom were taken prisoners. The remainder fled to the Thebais and to other parts; before long they, too, were captured or dispersed, and thus the abortive attempt was brought to an end.¹ But the incident is instructive as illustrating the restless and fanatical spirit of this type of Jew.

In spite of the loyalty shown by the Alexandrian Jews, Vespasian ordered the closing of the Jewish temple at Leontopolis, lest it should become a rallying-centre, in place of the destroyed sanctuary at Jerusalem, for the nationalistic Jews.² Bitterly as this must have been resented, the Egyptian Jews were powerless to retaliate, and for a number of years, so far as we know, there was peace in this centre of the Dispersion.

But the traditional hatred for one another of the Jews and Greeks of Alexandria did not, in the meantime, always remain quiescent. Some hints regarding an encounter between them, which took place in A.D. 110, occur in a recently discovered papyrus from Oxyrhyncus.³ The mutilated condition of the papyrus leaves us in the dark as to the cause of the disturbance; but it appears that the Greeks had a grievance against the Jews, and that they sent envoys to Rome to lay their complaint before the emperor Trajan; the Jews were of course, also represented. The case went entirely against the Greeks, and, as the papyrus

¹ Bell. Jud. vii. 407 ff.
Griechen . . . , pp. 34 ff.

² Ibid., 420 ff., 433 ff.

³ Bell, *Juden und*

gives obvious indications of having come from a partisan of theirs, this is evidently historical. But the chief point of interest which the papyrus has for us is the light it throws on Trajan's attitude towards the Jews; it is true he is represented as being wholly under the influence of his wife Plotina, who appears as strongly pro-Jewish; but though this may be regarded as an overstatement, it is evident, whatever the reasons may have been, that the Jews enjoyed considerable favour in court circles; this, as Bell says,¹ confirms the evidence of Suetonius on the subject, as well as what is suggested by the coins of Nerva.

Whether the action of the Alexandrian Jews, of which the Greeks complained, was in any way connected with the serious movement which may well have been in preparation at this time it would be precarious to say; but it was only a few years after that a Jewish revolution of considerable proportions broke out. In the year A.D. 115 Trajan was away in the eastern parts of the empire engaged in war with the Parthians; he required for this purpose a large part of the Roman troops stationed in different parts of the province of Africa. This presented to the Jews in this part of the empire a favourable opportunity for rising against Rome and asserting their independence. Very little is known regarding the early stages of this outbreak; but since it arose in different centres simultaneously—Libya, Egypt, Cyrene—it seems likely to have been a concerted movement on the part of Jewish communities in widely separated areas.²

From the fact that the Jews elected a king, named Lykyas, it may be gathered that it was their intention to found an African Jewish kingdom.³ The pent-up rancour which the Jews had been compelled to conceal for the last half-century vented itself first on the inhabitants of Cyrene; here a terrible massacre seems to have taken place, even though it be granted that Dio Cassius exaggerates in saying that two hundred and twenty thousand were slaughtered by the Jews in their fury. The Greeks being thus defeated, they fled for safety to Alexandria; here, in revenge, they fell upon the Alexandrian Jews; whether these latter had in any way been concerned with the action of their co-religionists elsewhere is not known; but being attacked, they retaliated, and a terrible conflict took place, in the course of which whole quarters of the city were devastated. The Jews were ultimately worsted, and so great were their losses that they

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 36.

² Dio Cass. lxxviii. 32.

³ Cp. Bell, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

never succeeded in regaining the position which they had hitherto held in the Dispersion. But elsewhere the Jews were victorious; the depleted garrisons made the task of the Roman troops of coping with their enemies an impossible one. The Jews under the leadership of their elected king swarmed into various parts of Egypt, laying waste whole districts, and terrorizing the inhabitants, as another papyrus vividly shows.¹

Trajan found that energetic measures were called for if the revolution was to be stamped out; he, therefore, sent his ablest general, Quintus Marcus Turbo, with a large army and a considerable naval force, to deal with the rebels. After much fighting the resistance of the Jews was at last broken; but they were not entirely subdued until after Hadrian had ascended the throne.

Another centre of revolution was the island of Cyprus, where, under the leadership of a man named Artemio, a massacre similar to that perpetrated in Cyrene took place, two hundred and forty thousand non-Jews being slain; though here again one may only surmise some exaggeration on the part of Dio Cassius. He tells us, further, that as an outcome of their cruelty the Jews were not permitted to land on the island; even if a storm-tossed Jew were cast on its shores he was to be put to death. Who the Roman general was who finally quelled the rising here is not known.

Eusebius makes mention of Mesopotamia as another centre of Jewish disaffection; this was quelled with great barbarity by Lusius Quietus; as a reward for his energy he was made procurator of Palestine.²

Thus for half a century after the fall of Jerusalem the Romans were faced from time to time with Jewish uprisings in various parts of the empire. In each case the Jews were subdued with ruthless severity. But in spite of these bitter experiences the Jews made one more supreme attempt to assert their independence. Something about this final desperate struggle must be said.

4. THE BAR-KOKHBA REVOLT

The shattering blow which the Jews of Palestine had suffered in the year A.D. 70 would have rendered them incapable of any

¹ Bell, *op. cit.*, p. 39 f.

² *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 2; Dio Cass. lxxviii. 32; and see, further, Schürer, *op. cit.* i. 666 ff.; Quietus was of Moorish extraction.

further hostile movement even had the desire for this existed; but there is no reason to suppose that any such wish animated them. This quietude went on for more than half a century, uninfluenced by the uprisings of their co-religionists in the Dispersion, and would probably have continued indefinitely had not two untoward imperial decisions been promulgated which once more aroused the fury of the Jews to white heat. It was because deep-seated religious feelings were outraged that the last, and perhaps most terrible, encounter between the Jews and Imperial Rome took place.

The edicts issued by Hadrian which so enraged the Jews reflected traits in the character of this emperor. Dill speaks of him as 'the most interesting of emperors'; he says:

'The greatest practical genius in the imperial line had, in the field of religion and speculation, an infinite passion for all that was curious and exotic . . . His insatiable curiosity had an endless variety of moods, and offered an open door to all the influences from many creeds. The restorer of ancient shrines, the admirer of Epictetus, the dabbler in astrology, the votary of Eleusis and all the mysteries of the East, the munificent patron of all professors of philosophy and the arts, the man who delighted also to puzzle and ridicule them, had probably few settled convictions of his own. His last words to his soul, in their mingled lightness and pathos, seem to express rather regret for the sunlight left behind than any hope in entering on a dim journey into the unknown.'¹

One can understand that to Hadrian, who in various directions had an enlightened outlook, and who was a man of refined tastes, there would be something very revolting in the barbaric custom of castration, however much it might be claimed as a religious rite.² By an edict of Domitian this had already been prohibited; now Hadrian not only confirmed that edict, but made the practice punishable by death. Not only so, but in the edict which he issued he added to the mutilation mentioned that of circumcision,³ the practice of which was equally subject to the death-penalty. There is no reason to suppose that Hadrian had the Jews specially in mind by including circumcision—it was practised by various other peoples within the empire⁴

¹ *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, p. 503 (1905).

² Frazer, *The Golden Bough; The Magic Art*, ii. 144 ff. (1911).

³ Spartian, *Hadrian*, p. 14; cp. Modestinus, *Digest*, xlviii. 8, 11, quoted by Schürer (*op. cit.* i. 677), where the prohibition is withdrawn by Antoninus Pius, showing that hitherto the rite had been forbidden.

⁴ See e.g. Herodotus, ii. 104.

—still less that he had any intention of wounding their religious susceptibilities; but since every Jew had by the Law to submit to this rite, which he believed to be a divine ordinance, its prohibition constituted one of the gravest possible attacks upon his faith and religious practice. This, then, was the first cause of the Jewish rising. The other had to do with Hadrian's love of art and architecture. Jerusalem had remained more or less a ruin for the last sixty years; Hadrian now determined to rebuild the city, to give it the name of Aelia Capitolina, and to erect on the site of the Temple a shrine to Zeus.¹ While this decision may perhaps be described as wanting in tact and consideration, it may well be doubted whether Hadrian really intended thereby to hurt the feelings of the Jews. The city was a ruin, to rebuild it was a beneficent act and pleasing to one with a love for beautiful architecture; the Temple had disappeared, nothing but the site was left; Hadrian could hardly have been expected to realize the Jewish point of view as to this site; nor can he be blamed for not knowing that the Jews cherished the hope of one day erecting a new Temple there to their God; and, it may be added, it is not to be supposed that he could appreciate the Jewish aversion to the erection of a heathen Temple on the derelict sacred site.

But, however this may be, the rising of the Jews was as unanimous as it was sudden, and as sudden as it was unexpected. It is a remarkable fact, and a wonderful illustration of loyalty to conviction, however misguided, that throughout Judaea the Jews arose spontaneously to what they believed to be the call of duty. As through the centuries the Messianic hope had been the guiding star and the inspiration of the nation, so now it was this hope which urged the people on; only on this occasion all, and not merely a section, as more than once before, believed that the Messiah had really appeared. A leader of the name of Barkoziba arose, who claimed to be the Messiah, and he was at once received as such; even the most celebrated Rabbi of the day, Akiba, was convinced that the long-expected time had come, and pointed to Barkoziba as the Lord's anointed; for this, he said, was the fulfilling of the words uttered long ago: 'There shall come forth a star out of Jacob, and a sceptre shall arise out of Israel';² he therefore designated this 'Messiah' 'Bar-Kokhba' 'son of a star'.³

¹ Dio Cass. lxi. 12.

² Num. xxiv. 17.

³ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 6 8.

The suddenness of the rising took the Romans quite unawares, and in a very short time Bar-Kokhba was master of Judaea. So convinced were the Jews that the Messianic kingdom was about to be established that coins were stamped with the inscription: 'Simon the Prince of Israel', 'For the Freedom of Jerusalem', 'For the Freedom of Israel', and others.¹

Tinnius Rufus, the procurator of Judaea, felt himself helpless to cope single-handed with the revolutionaries; Hadrian sent reinforcements again and again, but to no purpose.² The method of warfare adopted by the Jews was similar to that of the Maccabaeans in the early days of their struggle; the nature of the country was well fitted for their tactics; pitched battles in the open were out of the question; but in numberless spots in the mountainous districts, difficult of access, the Jews gathered in small bands, making sudden dashes from their hiding-places, devastating the surrounding country, and falling upon every one who would not join them.³ One by one these places of concealment had to be looked for; and one by one the strongholds had to be attacked or starved out. This trying and long-drawn-out guerilla warfare Hadrian finally entrusted to his most eminent military leader, Julius Severus; but even so the war dragged on for three years and a half before the Jews were finally subdued. This was in the eighteenth year of Hadrian (A.D. 134/135), when Beth-ther, the last stronghold in which Bar-Kokhba had taken refuge, fell into the hands of the Romans.

The losses on either side were very heavy; according to Dio Cassius well over half a million Jews fell in the fighting, in addition to the victims of disease and hunger; he also says that 'All Judaea was almost a wilderness'. On the Roman side the losses were likewise very serious, so much so that Hadrian in his rescript to the Senate, announcing the end of the war, omitted the usual introductory formula that it was well with him and his army.⁴

Jerusalem was now rebuilt by Hadrian and received the name, as originally intended, of Aelia Capitolina. It was peopled by Gentiles, no Jew being permitted to dwell there, or even to enter it, on pain of death.

From this time onward the Jews became more and more, as

¹ See Schürer's important Appendix on these coins, *op. cit.* i. 765-72.

² Dio Cass. lxi. 13; Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* iv. 6.

³ Dio Cass. lxi. 12.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 14.

Schürer says, 'aliens in a heathen world'. They never gave up the hope which for so many centuries had been the mainstay of the nation, viz. that some day the Jewish State would be re-established in the Holy Land. Even at the present time the return of Jerusalem to their possession, and especially the restoration of the Temple-worship, is prayed for daily:

'And to Jerusalem, Thy city, return in mercy, and dwell therein, as thou hast spoken; rebuild it soon in our days as an everlasting building, and speedily set up therein the throne of David.

'Accept, O Lord our God, Thy people Israel and their prayer; restore the service to the oracle of Thy House, and receive in love and favour both the fire-offerings of Israel and their prayer; and may the service of Thy people Israel be ever acceptable unto thee. And let our eyes behold Thy return in mercy to Zion.'¹

¹ The fourteenth and seventeenth benedictions of the synagogal prayer *Shemoneh Esreh* ('Eighteen Benedictions').

Additional Note M

THE TITLES OF THE ROMAN ADMINISTRATORS IN SYRIA

THE loose way in which Josephus uses the official titles of the Roman administrators in Syria is sometimes confusing; it may, therefore, be worth while to indicate these quite briefly with a few words of explanation.¹

Proconsul (ἀνθύπατος): this was the Roman title for the governor of a province under the Republic. But Augustus, in 27 B.C., while leaving some provinces to the Senate, retained the more important ones for himself. There were thus *imperial* and *senatorial* provinces. The *imperial* provinces were administered by a *legatus Augusti pro praetore*, the senatorial provinces by a proconsul as heretofore.

As to Syria: this was made a Roman province by Pompey in 64 B.C.,² and was governed by a *proconsul*. But Syria was one of those provinces which Augustus retained for himself, so that after 27 B.C., as it was one of the imperial provinces, the title of the administrator was *legate*. The primary duties of the administrator of a province, whether senatorial or imperial, were to levy taxes and to keep the peace. So far as Judaea was concerned, the attempt was made by the earliest proconsuls to divide it into five areas of administration, with their centres in Jerusalem, Gadara, Amathus, Jericho, and Sepphoris (Diocaesarea). This was in accordance with the Roman system of administration elsewhere, a country being divided into districts with a city as the administrative centre. As we have seen, this arrangement was modified before long.

Legate: As pointed out above, this was the title of the administrator of an imperial province from 27 B.C. onwards.

Procurator (ἐπίτροπος): there were two kinds of procurators; (1) those employed to look after Caesar's property in provinces governed by proconsuls or legates; they were of a lower grade and might be *freedmen*; and (2) those who governed small countries like Judaea with a military command; these were of *equestrian* rank.³ In the first instance, 'procurator' was the general title for all officials of the higher order who were concerned with finance; so that the oversight, within a particular area, of the imperial taxes was the primary duty of the procurator. For this purpose he employed native tax-gatherers. The procurator was, generally speaking, the subordinate of the proconsul, or the legate; but the fact that the *equestrian* pro-

¹ These details are gathered, in the main, from Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, vol. i, *passim* (1881), and from Schürer, *op. cit.*, vol. i, *passim*; the writer is also indebted to Dr. Edwyn Bevan for some useful details.

² Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 91; *Ell. Jud.* i. 170; Plutarch, *Pomp.* § 39.

³ Felix was an exception; see above, p. 432.

curator had a military command—though this was not composed of Roman soldiers, but of auxiliaries raised in the country itself—gave him independent authority in the ordinary administration of affairs; it was only on critical occasions that the head of the province took matters into his own hands. The procurator also administered justice, though in Judaea this was left in the hands of the Sanhedrin; authorities differ on the question as to whether the Sanhedrin had the power of inflicting capital punishment, or whether this was reserved for the procurator.¹

Praefectus (ἐπαρχος): this title was the equivalent to procurator; it was used by Augustus in preference to procurator, but was soon displaced in favour of the latter.²

Ethnarch (ἐθνάρχης): this was an honorific title; it was applied to one of higher rank than tetrarch; but its use varied, since it was conferred on rulers holding positions differing in importance. Simon the Maccabee assumed this title when he became, in effect, king in all but name;³ similarly, Hyrcanus II received the title of ethnarch from Caesar.⁴ On the other hand, the head of the Jewish community in Alexandria had this title.⁵

Tetrarch (τετράρχης): originally this was the title of the ruler of a fourth part of a province; but it lost its primary meaning and was applied to a ruler of lower rank than a king, irrespective of the size of the district which he governed. It was a common title, especially in Syria, and could be borne by any petty dependent prince; the *tetrarch* exercised some of the prerogatives of sovereignty, though subordinate to a king.

Praetor: this title was never held by any administrator in Syria, and therefore does not come into consideration here.⁶

¹ Jean Juster argues elaborately that the evidence is in favour of the view that the Sanhedrin had this power up to A.D. 70; see, e.g., *op. cit.* i. 400 f.

² Schürer, *op. cit.* i. 455.

³ 1 Macc. xiv. 47; xv. 1, 2; cp. *Antiq.* xiii. 214.

⁴ *Ibid.*, xiv. 191.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 117. On the title of *Alabarch* for the head of the Jewish community in Alexandria, see above, p. 412.

⁶ See, further, Marquardt, *op. cit.* i, pp. 517 ff.

Additional Note N

TABLES OF DATES

THE NEO-BABYLONIAN EMPIRE

	B.C.
Nabopolassar	625-604
Nebuchadrezzar II ¹	604-562
Amel-Marduk	562/1-560
Nergal-Sharezer (Neriglissar)	560-556
Labashi-Marduk	556
Nabunaid (Nabonidus)	556-538

THE PERSIAN EMPIRE

	B.C.
Cyrus ²	538-529
Cambyses	529-522
Darius I (Hystaspis)	522-486
Xerxes I	485-465
Artaxerxes I (Longimanus)	464-424
Xerxes II (he reigned only a few months)	424/3
Darius II (Nothus)	423-404
Artaxerxes II (Mnemon)	404-359
Artaxerxes III (Ochus)	359-338
Darius III (Codomannus)	338-331

THE SELEUCID EMPIRE

	B.C.
Seleucus I (Nicator)	311-281/0
Antiochus I (Soter)	280-262/1
Antiochus II (Theos)	261/0-247/6
Seleucus II (Kallinikos)	246/5-226/5
Seleucus III (Keraunos)	225/4-223
Antiochus III (The Great)	223-187
Seleucus IV (Philopator)	187-175
Antiochus IV (Epiphanes)	175-165/4
Antiochus V (Eupator)	163-162
Demetrius I (Soter)	162-150
Alexander Balas	150-145
Demetrius II (Nicator)	145-139/8
Antiochus VI (Epiphanes) ³	145-142/1

¹ Nebuchadrezzar I was king of the ancient Babylonian empire during the second half of the twelfth century B.C. ² Cyrus was king of Anshan from 550/49.

³ Tryphon usurped the throne 142/1-138 B.C.; see ch. xvii above.

B.C.

Antiochus VII (Euergetes, but nick-named Sidetes)	139/8-129
Demetrius II (Nicator) ¹	129-126/5
Antiochus VIII (Grypos) ²	125-96
Antiochus IX (Kyzikenos)	115-95

For the next twenty years there was the struggle for the remnants of the empire by claimants who can hardly be regarded as kings, namely Seleucus VI³ (Epiphanes Nicator), Antiochus X (Eusebes Philopator), Antiochus XI (Epiphanes Philadelphos), Philip I, Demetrius III (Theos Philopator Soter, nicknamed Eukairos), Antiochus XII (Dionysos Epiphanes Philopator Kallinikos). Of these Seleucus VI, Antiochus XI, and Philip I were the sons of Antiochus VIII. From 73-64 B.C. Antiochus XIII (Asiaticus) reigned in Antioch; in the latter year Pompey put an end to the Seleucid empire, or what remained of it. Finally, in 56 B.C. a last nominal king arose, Philip II, but disappeared almost immediately.⁴

THE PTOLEMAIC EMPIRE

B.C.

Ptolemy I (Soter I) ⁵	305-283/2
Ptolemy II (Philadelphos) ⁶	285-246
Ptolemy III (Euergetes I)	246-221
Ptolemy IV (Philopator)	221-203
Ptolemy V (Epiphanes)	203-181/0
Ptolemy VI (Philometor)	181/0-145
Ptolemy VII (Euergetes II, Physcon)	145-116
Ptolemy VIII (Soter II, Lathyros) ⁷	116-108/7 and 88-80
Ptolemy IX (Alexander I)	108/7-88
Ptolemy X (Alexander II)	80
Ptolemy XI (Auletes)	80-51
Ptolemy XII and Cleopatra VII	51-48
Ptolemy XIII and Cleopatra VII	47-44
Ptolemy XIV (Caesar) and Cleopatra VII	44-30 ⁸

¹ He was in the hands of the Parthians during 139/8-129 B.C.

² During 125-121 B.C. his wife, Cleopatra Thea, reigned jointly with him.

³ There was a Seleucus V, son of Demetrius II, but he had hardly assumed the diadem (126/5 B.C.) when he was assassinated.

⁴ For details see Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, ii. 247-68.

⁵ He was Satrap of Egypt from 323 to 305 B.C.

⁶ He was associated with his father in the kingdom for two years before the latter died.

⁷ He was driven out of Egypt by his mother, Cleopatra, in the year 108/7 B.C., but returned in 88 B.C.

⁸ In this year Egypt became a province of the Roman Empire.

HISTORY OF ISRAEL

THE HASMONAEAN RULERS

	B.C.
Judas Maccabaeus	166/5-160
Jonathan (High-priest)	160/59-142/1
Simon (High-priest)	142/1-135/4
John Hyrcanus I (High-priest and king)	134/3-104/3
Aristobulus I (High-priest and king)	103/2
Alexander Jannaeus (High-priest and king)	102/1-76/5
Alexandra	75/4-67/6
Hyrcanus II (High-priest)	75/4-66/5 and 63-40
Aristobulus II (High-priest and king) ¹	66/5-63
Antigonus (High-priest and king)	40-37
Herod the Great ²	37-A.D. 4

After Herod's death his kingdom was divided among his sons.

THE ROMAN PROCONSULS AND LEGATES OF SYRIA³

	B.C.
M. Aemilius Scaurus	62
Marcus Philippus	61-60
Lentulus Marcellinus	59-58
A. Gabinius	57-55
M. Licinius Crassus	54-53
C. Cassius Longinus	53-51
Vejento	50-49
Q. Metellus Scipio	49-48
Sextus Caesar	47-46
Caecilius Bassus	46
C. Antistius Vetus	45
L. Staius Murcus	44
C. Cassius Longinus ⁴	44-42
Decidius Saxa	41-40
P. Ventidius	39-38
C. Socius	38-37
L. Munacius Plancus ⁵	35
L. Calpurnius Bibulus	33-31 (?) ⁶
Q. Didius	30
M. Messala Corvinus	29
M. Tullius Cicero ⁷	28 (?)

¹ Aristobulus usurped both the High-priesthood and the kingship until deposed by Pompey.

² The High-priesthood was now separated from the kingship.

³ Schürer, *op. cit.* i. 304-37.

⁴ He held the office twice.

⁵ During 36 B.C. Mark Antony was present in the East himself.

⁶ See Schürer, *op. cit.*, p. 315.

⁷ Ibid., i. 317.

							B.C.
Varro	.	.	.	.	.	.	?-23
M. Agrippa	.	.	.	.	.	.	23-13
M. Titius	.	.	.	.	.	.	c. 10
C. Sentius Saturninus	.	.	.	.	.	.	9-6
P. Quintilius Varus	.	.	.	.	.	.	6-4
P. Sulpicius Quirinius ¹	.	.	.	.	.	.	3-2 (?)
C. Caesar ²	.	.	.	.	.	.	1-A.D. 4 (?)
							A.D.
L. Volusius Saturninus	.	.	.	.	.	.	4-5
P. Sulpicius Quirinius ³	.	.	.	.	.	.	6-?
Q. Caecilius Creticus Silanus	.	.	.	.	.	.	12-17
Cn. Calpurnius Piso	.	.	.	.	.	.	17-19
Cn. Sextius Saturninus	.	.	.	.	.	.	19-21
L. Aelius Lamia ⁴	.	.	.	.	.	.	?-32
L. Pomponius Flaccus ⁵	.	.	.	.	.	.	32-35 (?)
L. Vitellius	.	.	.	.	.	.	35-39
P. Petronius	.	.	.	.	.	.	39-42
C. Vibius Marsus	.	.	.	.	.	.	42-44
C. Cassius Longinus	.	.	.	.	.	.	45-50
C. Ummidius Quadratus	.	.	.	.	.	.	50-60
Cn. Domitius Corbulo	.	.	.	.	.	.	60-63
C. Cestius Gallus	.	.	.	.	.	.	63-66
C. Licinius Mucianus	.	.	.	.	.	.	67-69

THE PROCURATORS OF JUDAEA AFTER THE FALL OF JERUSALEM⁶

(The dates are mostly approximate)

							A.D.
Sex. Vettulenus Cerialis	}	<i>circa</i>	70-73
Lucilius Bassus			
M. Salvidenus		„	80
L. Flavius Silva		„	81
Cn. Pompeius Longinus		„	86
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¹ Ibid., 322.³ Ibid., 327.⁵ Ibid., 332 f.² Ibid., 325.⁴ Ibid., 329 ff.⁶ Ibid., 642-61.

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